

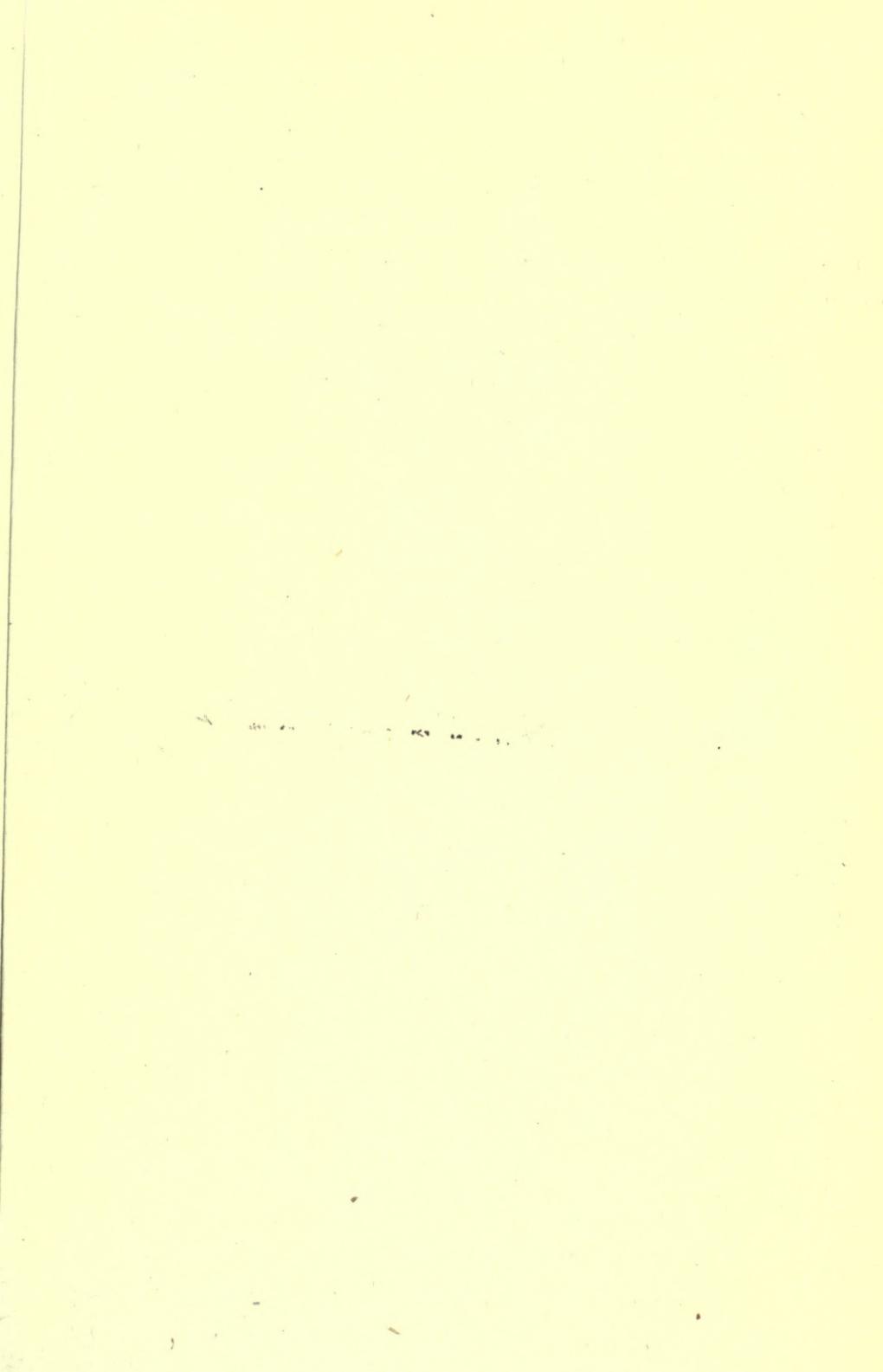
ADDRESSES
DELIVERED BEFORE
THE CANADIAN CLUB
OF MONTREAL



SEASON
1912-1913

PRESENTED
TO
THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
BY

H. H. Langton Esq.



ADDRESSES
DELIVERED BEFORE
THE CANADIAN CLUB
OF MONTREAL



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PREFACE.

THIS is the second volume of addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal. The variety of subjects is at least as great as in the preceding volume: the change in point of view, and in mode of expression, in passing from one speaker to another, makes an entertaining feature of the book. It will be noticed that an effort towards greater continuity has been made in the series of addresses on great Canadians and on certain phases of social welfare by men who speak with authority on their respective subjects. This is in line with the development of the Clubs. It seems probable that in addition to providing a widely varied program by inviting as many as possible of the distinguished visitors whom chance brings in their way, the Canadian Clubs will provide a series of related addresses on subjects selected beforehand as of vital interest to the community. They will then add something more definite and intensive, without losing the charm of the unexpected. The appointment of a permanent Secretary of the Association of Canadian Clubs, if it prove possible, will greatly aid in this development. Whether this comes about or not, the new arrangements for lunch should result in a considerable benefit to the Club's digestion, both physical and mental.

Two outstanding events are chronicled in this volume—the first address by a lady (to a meeting held jointly with the Women's Canadian Club), and the informal visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General.

J. A. DALE,
Literary Correspondent.

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[September 30th, 1912]

THE WORK OF THE ENTENTE CORDIALE SOCIETY

By A. BARTON KENT

President of the Entente Cordiale Society, London, Eng.

I HAVE to thank the Canadian Club for asking me to give this address on a subject which is very near to my heart, and which I venture to think cannot fail to be of great interest to the whole of Canada, and certainly to the Province of Quebec. I must apologize for being here, because I cannot liken myself to Satan in "Paradise Lost" and say: "I am by merit raised to this high position." It was owing to fortuitous circumstances that when I left school I was sent to France to learn French, and there I met a French young lady who has now been my wife for more than thirty years. Many of you know what a good wife a good French woman can make, and you will readily understand how it is that the subject of the Entente Cordiale is so near to my heart. I might even quote the words of M. Paul Cambon, French Ambassador in London, who, when he presided at one of our annual banquets, took my wife in to dinner and at the end of the evening when he was leaving, said: "Je comprends maintenant pourquoi vous êtes partisan de l'Entente cordiale."

Now there is no possible reason why the Entente Cordiale should not exist, and there are several why it should; and I am very happy to say it does exist. If we look back into history and remember that "blood is thicker than water," we find there are many ties between us and our neighbours on the other side of the Channel. We can go back even further than the invasion of William the Conqueror. I was reminded by the Rouen celebrations last year that Rollo, one of the Vikings who

The Work of the Entente Cordiale Society

invaded France, had many kinsmen who invaded England; therefore our ties and relations go back at least a thousand years.

It is not to be denied that in days gone by the English and the French have fought on many occasions, sometimes side by side, sometimes face to face; but I am sure of this, that whenever and however we met them, we found them first-rate fighters, fearless foes, and faithful friends. You remember just how at school you fought it out with your fellows, and then became the firmest of friends in after life, and that is the case between our neighbours and ourselves.

Of course it would be impossible to allude to the success of the movement known under the name of L'Entente Cordiale without speaking of our ever-to-be-regretted King Edward VII. It was after his accession to the throne that this movement made great strides and became firmly established. Another very active worker is M. Paul Cambon, French Ambassador in London. Our Society dates back before the coronation of King Edward, as it was founded by Sir Roper Parkington as long ago as 1896—sixteen years ago, when the entente was not so warm and some of us had rather an uphill battle to explain to people why it should exist.

In our Society there is nothing political. People of all shades of political opinion join heartily in wishing it success. We have been helped and visited in succession by the Hon. Arthur Balfour and John Burns, from which you will see that no side of the House of Commons is divided from us. Our president is the Earl of Chichester—not the warmest supporter of our present Government—and on the other side we have Lord Weardale, Lord Rotherham, ardent Radicals. Mr. Cathcart Wason from the northernmost part of the British Isles is on the Radical side and a worker with us. In France we have M. Paul Cambon, M. Constant, M. Guyon Mascuraud, and last, but by no means least, M. Delcassé.

There are some who think that it is time for the entente to give place to a regular alliance, but I venture to think that that is hardly necessary, and I would support M. Delcassé in stating that the Entente Cordiale being deeply rooted in the sentiments of the two peoples, is really stronger and more durable than the parchment upon which alliances are signed.

The Work of the Entente Cordiale Society

It would clearly be impossible for English and French to understand one another if they could not converse in each others' languages; therefore the Entente Cordiale Society gives four travelling scholarships for sending young people to France to complete their French education. Two of these are for university students—one male, one female—for twenty pounds each, and two are for scholars in primary schools, of ten pounds each; the condition being that they must go to France for a certain period and get their French at first-hand.

I have pointed out particularly that there are no politics whatever in our Society or in the idea of L'Entente Cordiale. There is no doubt, however, and it would be impossible to deny it, that this feeling of real friendship between England and France does play a very important part in the diplomatic intercourse of to-day, and I sincerely hope it will continue. As I have told you, I do not think we need a signed and sealed alliance between the two countries. This feeling is really so deeply rooted in our hearts to-day that now we understand one another better; now the Englishman no longer thinks the French are a flighty, superficial little race with no depth of sentiment. That has been found to be just as erroneous an idea as for the Frenchman to represent the Englishman with prominent teeth and ugly whiskers and having no sentiment whatever because he does not show it as the French do. We now know that though there is no actual word to translate "home" into French, yet the family ties in France are just as strong as—and I would say even stronger than—in England, and that the Frenchman is just as true a friend as an Englishman. He does not perhaps invite you to stay with him as readily as we do, because the system of housekeeping in France is somewhat different, and there are not many spare rooms in an appartement; but if you have ever enjoyed the hospitality of a Frenchman, you will readily admit that when he opens his door, you are just as much one of the family as if you were related to him by ties of blood.

May the Entente Cordiale continue and flourish for ever to promote peace, progress and prosperity for the benefit of mankind!

[October 2nd, 1912]

SOME LINKS IN THE CHAIN OF EMPIRE

By SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY, K.C.M.G.

THIS is my first visit to Canada, and I have been so much interested and occupied in seeing and hearing new men and newthings that I am afraid I have had but little time or inclination to prepare anything in the way of an elaborate address. My visit I may say has been a great delight, it has been of continuous interest, enhanced by the great courtesy which I have received on all hands, and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation.

I hope that I have now some more apt sense of proportion regarding matters Canadian than I could boast of six weeks ago. I have seen something of your magnificent waterways; I have seen something of your vast system of railways, and if I say but little about them, it is not because I fail to realize what magnificent pioneer work they have done in this country; and how much Canada owes to the skill, the courage and the sagacity of her engineering pioneers. I have seen, moreover, many and varied industrial establishments in different parts of your great Dominion; I have travelled through the great granaries of the West right down to the shores of the Pacific, through the mighty forests by which it is reached, so I think I have probably conceived some idea of the great national resources which you have at your command. I have neither the courage nor the wit to make anything like a calculation of the wealth which is inevitably accruing to this country, and I rejoice to know that beyond materialism there are many things to which your attention is being turned.

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Your Prime Minister reminded us the other day that a nation has not only a body; it has a soul, and in this connection I may tell you that I was profoundly impressed by the number and excellence of the schools which I have seen springing up on every hand. The schools of this country are the crucibles in which all your various elements—and there are very many—are to be fused into the future nation of Canada, and it is over those schools that I should like to see emblazoned the Premier's words in letters of gold, and if in my mind there had been any lingering doubt as to the fostering of the spirit of education in this land, that would have been dispelled this morning by my visit to your magnificent University and the Royal Victoria Hospital.

But I think what has impressed me more than anything else is the glowing patriotism and the love of Canada which is evinced by all sorts and conditions of men throughout the whole length and breadth of this great country. Perhaps also I have been able to picture to myself something of the sterner side of your life. When I was in the Rockies a short time ago I groaned in spirit because the snow fell ceaselessly, and the mantle of winter was over all. And yet I am not sure it was not well it should be so, for without it and until I stood alone in the great snow-clad pine forests I could have had no perception whatever of the great spirit of the North, which seems to me so awful in its grandeur and the immensity of its silence and the relentlessness of its grasp. I do believe that I have some conception of the aims and aspirations by which you are inspired, and also I believe something of the difficulties which have been flung in your path in the attainment of your great ideals. One after another difficulties have been flung in your way, but with splendid courage you have overcome them, and with splendid confidence you look into the future. May I venture to say that I share that confidence to the full? May I express the hope that you will not be disappointed in any way of the high hopes which you entertain for the glorious future of your country?

The theme which I have selected for this afternoon is rather pretentious, being entitled:—

SOME LINKS IN THE CHAIN OF EMPIRE.

This is, I know, an ambitious headline, and perhaps I should not have been so audacious as to select it in ordinary seasons;

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but this year has been for me quite a big year. It has been divided for me into four quarters, each one of which has happened to have been spent in a different continent. On New Year's Eve last I sailed from Bombay, leaving behind me the good old year and the memory of almost six years' service in that land of mystery and of strange fascination—India. Then I passed straight across to East Africa—and there, by the way, it may interest you to know I found as Governor and the highest official in the land and the direct representative of His Majesty, Sir Percy Girouard, a Canadian, a Catholic, and I may add a right good fellow. Then, having penetrated Uganda and having travelled from end to end of South Africa whose service in days gone by claimed eight years, perhaps the happiest eight years of my life—I returned to England where I passed three months; and now I find myself on Canadian soil.

Now you will not be surprised if I say that I feel myself saturated with the spirit of Empire. But please do not imagine that that implies that I have any implacable desire to go to and fro in the streets waving the Union Jack and shouting to passers-by that "Britons never, never shall be slaves." I have no yearning for such trumpet-tongued ebullitions of imperialism. But I do believe in the mission of Empire; I do believe in the work which the men of our race have done in the past, and I believe with all my soul in the great part that they are going to play in the future cause of humanity, of civilization, of peace in the world.

You see I have been recently in touch with several of the links of the chain, one link differing from another in status, in population, in resources, and in degree of civilization. It would indeed be interesting enough to trace the interdependence of the one upon the other, and to contrast the different conditions and problems and the sentiments which prevail in each one, but I am afraid that time would not allow of any such enterprise on my part.

Just think for a moment; I went straight from the Delhi Durbar to Uganda, straight from the ancient city of the Great Mogul to the sources of the Nile, around which are grouped

tribes only just emerged from the lowest depths of barbarism, and only recently emancipated from the horrors of the slave trade. When I half shut my eyes and conjure up a vision of the Delhi Durbar, I see a wonderful kaleidoscope of color, crimson, purple, scarlet and gold, princes and rulers and potentates, among whom many a one could claim a lineage running back into the dim ages, and could trace a dynasty which existed two thousand years before Christ. These figures clad in all the gorgeous raiment of the East, crested with jewels worth many of them a king's ransom, and all of them representing a civilization which flourished when our ancestors as you know were painting their persons with blue clay and covering their bodies with skins for raiment. Then I want across to a land of uncompromising savagery—that of the tribes of the Kalandariyahs, where even the ingenuity of Mother Eve, shown in her charming modification of the Highland costume, finds no adherence, where all are naked and none are ashamed.

You will see that to cover all the land over which I have travelled would be to run down the whole gamut of civilization, a task which is entirely beyond me. But I should like you to be well assured of this, that in all these various countries through which I travelled, no matter what was the prevailing color or creed, I found the work of government inspired by the same spirit, by an honest endeavor to evolve an ever higher type of civilization, to develope the natural resources, and above all to maintain the best traditions of those who profess themselves Christian Englishmen. All of them I found working out their own salvation, secure under the same sheltering arm, and that is the Sea Power of Great Britain. Sea power is Empire. I claim no originality in the enunciation of that maxim. Its author is no less a personage than H.I.M. the German Emperor, and his words have gone straight home to the hearts of his people, and have borne fruit in the dockyards of Kiel and the gun factories of Krupp. Sea power is Empire. That phrase found its echo in Japan. It became the watchword of the nation and had its consummation in the defeat of Russia, at which, as you remember, all the world wondered, as indeed they might. It

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was a record of national devotion and self-sacrifice, of national efficiency and sublime courage, and moreover it was an achievement which reverberated through all the whispering galleries of the East, inspiring the germs of life of an Oriental ambition and the hope of escape from a permanent subordination to western supremacy.

And then there is China—that huge enigma which we have always looked upon as a great inert monster of humanity, and now China is looming large as a factor in modern politics. We see her gross unwieldy limbs being stirred from slumber in which they have lain listless century after century. We read in this morning's newspapers the advices from the Balkans, and we cannot fail to realize that at any moment to-day the whole of Europe may be ablaze. Look where you will, to the East and to the West, and you will see that the surface of the world's politics to-day is ruffled by undercurrents of unrest, and who is there who will dare to gauge the depth and the force of those undercurrents? It is not strange that England to-day is taking heed of these things. She is looking to her sea power as the keystone of the whole imperial arch. She is resolved that her fleet shall be adequate to the demands of Empire, adequate to fulfil the mission of the race, which is—so far as human agency can do so—to maintain the peace of the world. The premium you know for this insurance is not small; it is great and costly; but England is ready to pay it, to pay it herself; though there are signs, are there not, which some of us—may I say all of us—are glad to see, that she is not always perhaps to pay it entirely alone.

But I am digressing. I want to speak to you of some links in the chain of Empire, and I have been asked to say a few words on the subject of India.

I need not remind you of the strategical value of India. She is the strategic centre, as you know, of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and the power which holds India can hold sway over the whole of the area from the Mediterranean to New Zealand, from Hong Kong to Cape Town, and with the loss of India all those dominions and dependencies would fall. But it is of India herself that I would like to speak. I have alluded to the unprecedented pageant of the Delhi Durbar, and I use the word “unprecedented” advisedly. Never before on one continent did one single man hold sway over so vast a dominion; never in

the history of the world has so immense a number of races, sects, creeds and colors of every kind, so vast a concourse paid homage to one monarch, as when King George V., the personal embodiment of British rule in India, sat enthroned at Delhi to be hailed King-Emperor of three hundred and twenty million subjects—one-fifth of the whole human race. That was an event absolutely unique, wonderful to look upon, and it is unparalleled in its deep significance. One hundred years ago the Delhi Durbar would have been an impossibility. All those great rulers, princes and potentates who were assembled at Delhi were rivals only in one thing, and that was in their loyalty to British sovereignty. A century ago they would have been at each other's throats. A century ago India was one great welter of disintegrated principalities, the arena of endless warfare, kingdom rising against kingdom under one interminable reign of plunder, bloodshed and crime. We have given her the blessings of an universal peace. One hundred years ago her people were the victims of corruption almost incredible and oppression and cruelty. We have given them a pure judiciary, the scales of which are held evenly and equally for all, rich and poor. We have given them the most able, upright and devoted civil service that the world has ever seen, and with all this is the machinery of an enlightened civilization, railroads, irrigation works, hospitals and schools, and all what I may call the plant of modern civilization and administration. India, as you know perhaps, is a country where disease is specially rife: plague, cholera, fever, take yearly a terrible toll of human life, and even to-day the cities and the hamlets of India are strewn with human wrecks, the maimed and mangled victims of superstition, imposture and quackery, and only slowly is the light of Western medical science and skill dawning in the lives of these hapless victims of ignorance and neglect. Our hospitals and medical schools to-day are crammed to overflowing, and the demand is everywhere for more. Then again, there are vast areas which in times of drought and famine have their stricken victims by tens and literally hundreds of thousands; but to-day by our irrigation works and railways wherewith we can rapidly carry grain to those districts liable to suffer, we can fight famine as never before. It is to England to-day that the toiling millions of India are looking for peace and safety, for rescue from disease and

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famine, for freedom and justice, for guidance to the knowledge of a better standard of life, for surely they must have looked in vain elsewhere. To my mind the government of India is the noblest trust which has ever been committed to a people, and if England were to falter or fail in that trust, she would fall from her high estate; she would be thrust forth into the outer courts of the nations—an abject thing, shrouding her nakedness in the sackcloth of shame and the ashes of dishonor, and another would take her place, for India cannot stand alone. If we were to leave India to-morrow she would only be thrown back into the chaos of anarchy and crime from which we rescued her long ago. No, we can only lose India in one contingency, and that is by the breakdown of our fleet, by the loss of our sea power, the ruin of the whole imperial fabric. That is the only condition under which we can lose India.

And now, perhaps, you will see of how great a value to the chain is this same link, not only to India, but to the whole Empire and to each of the self-governing dominions. And do not forget that the same work of Empire is going on in Egypt, the Straits Settlements, in East Africa and our other great Eastern dependencies, all of which are depending on England's sea power.

Canada has declared that she wishes to play her part in imperial defence in a manner that shall not be derogatory to her dignity as a great dominion, and many of you—I believe all of you—would gladly see her share in the decision of those questions which affect the issues of peace and war, and making her voice heard in the councils of the Empire. I share those aspirations to the full; I dare even to dream of a day in which Canada shall participate in such work as that of which I have spoken to you. I know some of the most honorable and distinguished of Canada's sons, men whose patriotism is hindered by no narrow provincial creed, men who hold as sacred and inviolable those ties which bind you to the Motherland; I know that some of these view such consolidation of the links as a clog in the chain which girdles the world so easily to-day, and see therein the loss of the elasticity which is the secret of its great success. I realize as they do the great difficulties in the way, but I am sanguine enough to believe that the task of moulding the various constituent parts of our Empire into a more effective partnership,

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into closer union, is not beyond the wit of man or the genius of our statesmen to devise. I venture to think it is in that direction that your true course lies, and thus Canada will attain to a fuller stature and fulfil a destiny even greater and nobler than that which is dreamed for her to-day.

[October 7th, 1912]

THE IMPERIAL ASPECT OF HOME RULE

By THE RIGHT HON. WALTER HUME LONG, M.P.

THREE are two main grounds upon which Home Rule for Ireland has been advocated:—

First.—That it will relieve the Imperial Parliament of much of the work that it now has to do, work which it is said occupies too much of its time.

In reference to this argument let me say this. Those who advance it do not realize how much we have done in the Imperial Parliament to meet this difficulty already. We have given to Scotland a system of procedure for private bill legislation which has been on the whole successful. As far as I am concerned, we are willing to give the same procedure—slightly altered—to the rest of the United Kingdom, and we believe that what has done so well in Scotland will do equally well in the rest of the United Kingdom. Then the statement made that our time is so largely taken up in the House of Commons in private bill legislation is an exaggeration, for as a matter of fact, although we have not extended to Ireland the procedure that Scotland has, we did alter the procedure in the House of Commons, and as a consequence, private bill legislation takes up a very limited portion of our time. Therefore there is not so much in that argument as at first sight. But assuming that that ground is good, assuming that you want to clear away these local questions in order to give more time to the debates on imperial questions, you are compelled to ask yourselves whether the bill now before the House of Commons is a bill for devolution, or whether it is, as we contend, a bill for the establishment of what is practically a sovereign parliament.

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I venture to say there is not a detail in your own local legislation which you will not find to be utterly at variance with the bill now before the House of Commons. You, in your local legislatures, have power to deal with those matters solely which affect your particular province. You do not touch those great questions of general import and interest which under your constitution are left to the Dominion Parliament. You have in the Dominion Parliament sole power to deal with customs and revenue. You have the single post office system for the whole of Canada; you have the right to appoint your judiciary, and having established a federal system for the whole of Canada, you give each province the right to control its own affairs, and do not allow the one province to interfere in the affairs of another. Common affairs affecting the whole Dominion are dealt with by the Dominion Parliament; local affairs are dealt with solely by the local legislature. In all these respects the bill which we are now considering differs entirely and absolutely from any legislation which has ever been introduced in any part of the British Empire for the purpose of establishing provincial or local legislatures. Therefore if you are in favor of a scheme of devolution, if you believe that a system that has worked so well in Canada ought to be applied to Ireland, I say you will not find the realization of your desires and hopes in the bill we are now discussing.

Second, that at present you have in Ireland a bitter division of opinion. You have the majority of the people restless and dissatisfied, so we are told, and unwilling to throw in their lot with the rest of the Empire, and we are told that this evil ought to be remedied and can be remedied by the passing of the Home Rule measure. Never was any delusion so great. It is true that you get a large proportion of the Irish people in a dissatisfied condition; but they are not, I think, so dissatisfied as some people represent them to be. I believe that any impartial student who desires to inform his mind as to what is the real condition of Ireland to-day, and who will go not in the company of a Home-ruler or anti-Home-Ruler, but who will go with a companion or two and visit those parts of Ireland where Home Rule is said to be most popular, he will find that the feeling in favor of Home Rule is languishing every day—and why? Because under the rule of the Imperial Parliament—which is so

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unjustly condemned by some of those who advocate Home Rule—the Irish people have prospered and thriven beyond the dreams of the most fervent Irishman who lived twenty or thirty years ago. In the passing of the Land Bill, with this improvement in agriculture, with this steady development of her own resources, you are getting first of all a feeling of contentment, a feeling of pride in the work which Irishmen are doing for themselves, aided by imperial money and by aid of the Imperial Parliament, and, in addition to that, you are getting a feeling that it is very doubtful—to say the least—whether the progress of Ireland under a Home Rule Parliament will be in any way comparable with the progress she has made in the last twenty years.

As to my second statement, there is no room for doubt. It is not a question of opinion; it is a question of fact, which anyone can see for himself who takes the trouble to read the papers coming from London every week to the Dominion. You have in a part of Ireland—and not limited to the North East corner—a million and a half of people, who are determined as never were men in the history of any country in the world, that they will not submit themselves to a parliament which they believe in their hearts and souls will deprive them of those liberties and privileges which they enjoy under the imperial sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament.

There is no bluff about it. You may say they are wrong. I am not here to say they are right or wrong. But when men in whom I believe and who have stood by me and my country in all our difficulties, who are loyal and fair, honest hard-working men, when they tell me in their most solemn tones that they believe not only their own liberties will be destroyed, but the future of their children, am I to tamely submit to that? No, I am here to say that I believe those men's fears are well grounded, and they have my sympathy, in the action which they are called upon to take in a moment of the gravest nature that has ever happened in the history of that part of Ireland, or even of our Empire.

I am told that this measure must be passed because the majority in Ireland demand it. I have said something of the people of the North of Ireland and their steadfastness. But we also know something of the history of the English people, that

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they are a fair-minded, steadfast lot of people as well. Are we to have no say in this?

Coming down to the hard basis of pounds, shillings and pence, we are asked to put down some six millions of money to finance this tremendous experiment, and I say that that sum is wholly insufficient, and the Nationalist party will be bound, if they are to do justice to Ireland, to demand that that sum shall be largely increased. Where are we to find all this money? Surely the most ardent Home-Ruler will admit that we are entitled to have something to say as to the settlement of this question. Whereas we are asked to decide in a parliament in which England and Ireland are represented in this way. Ireland has one member for every six thousand of her people. We in the British parliament have one for every thirteen or fourteen thousand. Before you settle a question of such grave importance, and in the settlement of which we in England are called upon to pay so vast a sum of money, you ought to precede the discussion of the question by making representation equal, so that an Englishman shall have as much say in this question as an Irishman. I hear a great deal about the rights of Ireland, but very little about those of England. She is bearing the greatest burden and paying the lion's share for those great armaments necessary to us if we are to preserve our existence. Surely we in England have a right to be consulted—and I do not mean members of the House of Commons, but those who sent them there—before a measure of this kind becomes law. I also speak for the party in the House of Commons which has the largest individual representation, the largest following of any one single party, for we are confronted by a party which is not homogeneous and which is composed of different factions. We say before they pass this measure and put this heavy penalty upon Ireland and the British Empire, the people have a right to be consulted.

In my travels through Canada I have indeed found men like the country, men of power and of big mind. We have reached a moment in the history of our Empire when we are obliged to ask ourselves what is to be our next and immediate step into the future. I for one have never found any fault with the action of other countries in increasing their own armaments. They are entitled to do it, as we are. They are entitled, if they

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see fit, to build great navies and create great armies. But we shall be cowards and even fools if we decline to realize facts, if we refuse to face the situation with which we are confronted to-day.

I am happy to say the British Empire has woken up, and Canada has played a great and glorious part in waking up the Empire. I have more than once shown by figures—which I will not quote again—that we on our side have borne the larger part in maintaining and providing a great navy and army, the cost of which combined amounts now to a sum no less than something like one hundred million pounds a year. Now that is a gigantic sum of money. We are spending about eighty millions now—of which over forty-four millions are for the navy—and if we continue as we are going on, we shall have to spend more and more every year, so that one hundred millions is the very minimum sum that our combined forces will cost.

What is the danger at present? The danger is, first, the increasing power of other countries to assail us; second, the possible combination of other powers under certain circumstances to use that against us. How shall we meet these two difficulties? We have to provide sufficient ships to protect the heart of the British Empire. We know the Dominion of Canada from East to West, from North to South, is determined to do two things. She is determined to claim her share in the great heritage of the British Empire, and is proud of her position as a part of the Empire. She is also determined to bear her part of the great imperial burden.

What then is the answer?

It is that the over-seas dominions of the Empire, without waiting to be asked, have of their own free-will said to the Mother-country—"We will stand by you, we will aid and support you to enable you to make the Empire secure." Our answer to the combination of other countries against us is that we have not got to go into the highways and byways to seek alliances here and there which will bring entanglements; our alliance is not to be one with other countries; it is to be one with our own people and lands, our own flesh and blood, sons of the old Mother-land, who to-day are proud to take their share and offer their assistance in bearing this great imperial burden which England has borne so long. That is the proud answer that goes out to

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the world to-day from the British Empire, and it is one which will make every man go more proudly along the path of the future.

It is a question of discussion what is to be the exact contribution, whether it will take this or that form. I express no opinion on those matters, because that would be an impertinence from one coming from the other side of the Atlantic. But I know that no more effective answer could be given to our rivals who are jealous of our power and who would like to take some of our possessions, than that which will be and is being made when the overseas dominions say—"Whatever is done that is hostile to Great Britain is done in hostility to us."

There are some of us who are very anxious to see if we cannot develop some system of trade which will make the whole of the Empire one for purposes of supply and need of the people of the Empire. We believe that the first chance should be given to the members of our own family. We believe that bonds of this kind would much strengthen the Empire. There are those who are just as good citizens, who are just as proud of the imperial prestige, just as determined to maintain it, but who do not share our views; but we believe that this is another great task which has to be accomplished by the sons of Empire, who like myself believe in it, and to which we are giving the best of our energies.

Our Empire is a curious collection of different and often differing countries, some of them very old, and some of them very new. Other empires unlike it have come and gone. I am satisfied that the British Empire is not only going to last, but is only beginning to realize its possibilities and to go forward to its imperial destiny.

Lastly: If you were different altogether from what you are: if you and other overseas dominions turned your back on the old land and said—"You have made your bed and must lie on it: you must bear your own responsibilities," the day has not dawned, and never will, I believe, when the people of Old England will be so foolish as to turn their back on their responsibilities. But how much stronger shall we be if we are united as a great family, if we take this burden on our common shoulders, and realize for the first time what is the real meaning of the word

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“Empire,” and what are the opportunities of an Empire like ours! That will be a proud knowledge that will send us rejoicing on our way.

Although I speak as a visitor, I indignantly deny that I speak as a stranger. There are very few in this room or city whom I have the pleasure of knowing personally, or have ever seen before; but we all know this great central fact, that the same blood runs in our veins. The same history makes us proud as we read it: the same flag floats over us: we serve under the same sovereign. Not only are all these things common. One other thing is common. As we have this great heritage, so we are determined to maintain it, and each one of us, whether born in Great Britain or any other part of the Empire, and whatever our individual capacity, is determined to say to-day with one voice: “The British Empire is mine, and I will keep it for my children and my children’s children.”

[October 14th, 1912]

SOME LABOUR QUESTIONS

By SIR GEORGE ASKWITH, K.C.B., K.C., D.C.L.

Assistant Chief Industrial Commissioner, British Board of Trade.

THE subject upon which I am to say a few words to-day, is almost as large in the way of questions as your territory is in the way of acres, and it is but a small portion of it that I propose to deal with.

I spoke the other day at Ottawa upon some of the presumed causes of labour unrest, and I felt that even then I could only allude to a few, and that if I went further, to such matters as the cure of labour unrest, I was treading upon still more difficult ground.

Now cures that are proposed are as many perhaps as the sands on the seashore. You will hear one man saying that the cure is by taxation of land; another man will propose something else, and a third will offer quite a different suggestion. I have heard persons saying that you should put down labour unrest by soldiers and police, as if that ever stopped any great movement in the world's history. I have heard persons saying that you ought to deal with it by law, and others have suggested all sorts of nostrums. But still some of these suggestions may have an element of truth. Law, up to a certain point, may be valuable; but if you make a law, it is important that you should be able to enforce that law; and if you make a law, it is also important that it should be with the general consent of the people rather than by compulsion upon a mass of people who object to it. The beginning of every Act of Parliament says that it is by the "advice" and "consent" of Parliament, and those two words "advice" and "consent" more or less govern the conditions upon which any law can be accepted. So I come to the importance and the necessity of agreement, which

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I will illustrate to a certain extent by a slight sketch of some of the incidents of the great strikes and lock-outs in Great Britain during the last two years.

Now I may be bringing forward a statement with which you may not all agree, when I say that my opinion—an opinion founded upon some experience and much evidence—is that, taking it as a whole, industrial agreements upon which the relations of capital and labour depend, are generally kept. One hears a great deal of strikes and lock-outs taking place because of the breach of agreements. At the present time, one of the matters which has been referred to the Industrial Council, of which I have the honour to be chairman, is this question of the breach of industrial agreements, and how best such agreements can be enforced. It has been remarkable in the evidence that has been taken how great union after great union has come up through its leaders and has put before us what occurs in the ordinary way between capital and labour, but of which you never hear in the newspapers. That is, they continue to exist and carry on their work by means of agreements, and those agreements are kept. The old unions which have been in existence for thirty or forty years, whose men are disciplined, and whose leaders have been educated in how to govern men and how to make agreements in their trades, repudiate entirely the idea that they break agreements. They have dared the employers to bring up or cite any instance of an agreement to which they have set their hands having been broken, and the employers have agreed that when these union leaders put their hands to a document, although that document may be difficult to arrive at, that the agreement, in spite of many difficult circumstances, has been kept.

Now it may be, and it does happen, that when you get a weak union suddenly increased perhaps by ten or twenty thousand members, such as the Transport Workers' Union rising from twenty or thirty thousand to between two and three hundred thousand members, there is much greater difficulty in educating the men who belong to that union, or even in educating the leaders of it to the necessity of the keeping of industrial agreements. But if the men are not educated, it is not of much use for employers to revile the leaders of the union by telling them—"You must make your men keep them." If the employers have

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not been able to make arrangements with, or govern their men, it is scarcely likely that a new leader will be able to deal more successfully with so many multifarious issues. If the proposition is then accepted that as a rule agreements are kept, the importance of the problem for the rest of the community and to those employers who may have difficulties over breaches of agreement with the men, and of the men who may have similar difficulties with their employers, becomes this—to try to get within the general rule those cases which are outside of it.

I know it is said that breaches of agreement generally arise from the men. I am not so sure of that. You hear a great deal about breaches of agreement by the men because those breaches of agreement are generally by a large number of persons, perhaps hundreds and thousands or even tens of thousands; but for the purpose we are discussing it may be taken that those breaches of agreement are committed by one man. The work-people act together, and it is as if one man broke the agreement; whereas, on the other side, if one employer happens to break an agreement, or has difficulty about keeping it, he may be denounced by his employees, but it does not become known to the community at large in the same way as a widespread strike does.

There are on this question of agreement, however, two points upon which legislation and public opinion may be of the utmost importance. Those two points are, I think, where an agreement has been made and its meaning is questioned; and in the making of an agreement.

In the first case, the parties have come together and have come to an understanding, which is interpreted in a different way by each side. In such a case surely it is to the public advantage to suggest that an interpretation of what the parties meant, should be made by an impartial person, and you may have that either by consent, by arbitration or by conciliation.

Again, in the making of an agreement, and when an agreement has come to an end, and the parties cannot renew it, although one party is anxious to work and another party is anxious to employ, surely it is to the public interest that those parties should be brought together and that they should discuss terms in order to see whether an agreement cannot be arrived at, for if they are at loggerheads, they can do very little dis-

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cussion. In those provinces it seems to me that every man almost who has anything to do with industrial disputes may make his views felt, and may suggest that either intervention or some form of conciliation may be of value.

On the other hand, if you have compulsory arbitration, the difficulty is to enforce it. You cannot with any success to any very large extent enforce penalties upon thousands of men, particularly if those men are persons with whom you have to live side by side afterwards and who are to be in your daily employment. And you cannot if you wished it—for public opinion will revolt against it—fill up your jails with thousands of persons who may have said that they do not wish to work on certain terms, or who have not, because they were ordered to work, chosen to pay the fine that the law courts may have inflicted.

I remember well an incident that occurred in 1909, when a Scottish coal dispute was threatening, which, had it occurred, might have led to a national strike. One of the ministers was talking about a compulsory arbitration act being passed in twenty-four hours through both Houses of Parliament, and one of the old Welsh leaders of the miners who had been present in a conference, turned to him and said: "Mr. President, you cannot put 600,000 men into prison." Perfectly obvious—so obvious that it struck one in the eye; that difficulty of enforcement is THE great difficulty.

It is so with nations; and in these large trades there are, as militant members, far more persons than in the armies of many nations; and yet who has often heard of a nation or army that could be compelled by penalties of international law to follow certain terms. There is not always success even when the great nations of the world have suggested—as they have been doing during the last few weeks—diplomatic conversations between nations which are desirous of flying at each others' throats. One does not know what the issue of that serious trouble at the present moment may be; but here is an instance where even suggestions for discussion of an international agreement have apparently been found difficult of acceptance.

Then again in international matters there may arise exactly in the same manner as in trade disputes a difficulty over the meaning of words, where one party may claim that they have

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put into the plainest wording possible a treaty which they expect the other nation to keep, while there may be such juggling with words that the question of interpretation may come up. In that case again the nations of the world and public opinion may decide that sooner than that one nation should be allowed to interpret it in its own manner and say the words mean something else than the rest of the world understands them to mean, the proper interpretation should be decided either by discussion or else by an outside and independent authority.

It is no doubt an important point that good faith in agreements is a matter of education, and that you have to educate unions and employers to a belief that by good faith their best interests may be served.

Now I am not going to enter with great particularity, as the minutes are few, into the incidents of the strikes in Great Britain, nor will I allude to the vast number which have been settled in the manner I have spoken of without any strike, that is, cases which have not come before the world at all.

The question then arises, if a strike or lock-out takes place, how far the question of agreements may come in? The disputes of the last two years coming in the wake of a large number of previous disputes, arose first of all after three big lock-outs in the coal trade, the cotton trade and the ship-building trade, with a dispute at Southampton, which was followed by a serious dispute at Hull. I went down to Hull, and the employers and the leaders of the work-people came to an agreement. The men's leaders thought they could get it through their people. They held a meeting of fifteen thousand workers to whom they propounded this agreement, and the dockers with one voice absolutely refused it and cried out "No!" The employers asked what was the use of dealing with the leaders. I pointed out that it was no use their endeavouring to insist that the leaders of the men—who were quite new leaders and were scarcely known to the majority of union members—should be held to an agreement to which the men would not consent, and that they could have little power to force such an agreement upon the men. It was then suggested that as it was doubtful what the men really wanted, the leaders should bring forward a definite proposition which the men would accept and to which the employers might agree. I left Hull and stayed in a little town on

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the coast of Yorkshire for two days while suggestions were being put forward before the men, and finally I heard that some propositions had been accepted at mass meetings. I was then able to call together the employers, having previously ascertained that the propositions as modified by me would not be unacceptable to them. They accepted them and found, I believe, in the result, that it cost them a little less money than if they had insisted on adhering to the previous propositions. That agreement is still standing, and during the recent London dock dispute, Hull refused to join with London or break the agreement.

The dispute at Hull was followed by disputes in almost all the shipping ports of Great Britain, and one of the most serious that immediately followed was that in Manchester. In that case, agreements had been made between various sections of trade, nine or ten of them, and none of them would go back unless all were satisfied. It was what is called a sympathetic strike. The difficulties were extraordinary owing to the fact that negotiations had to end on a Sunday night, otherwise the next morning large numbers of men in other trades, would have come out on sympathetic strike, the cotton mills through lack of material and coal would be rapidly closed, and very serious, if not irreparable, damage might have been done to shipping and the docks, which could not be protected by the police. All these different sections had in the course of arguments and discussions, lasting perhaps twenty hours each day over four days, settled their difficulties, with the exception of two, at six o'clock on Sunday night. These two were the Seamen, who were still adhering to a point about a ticket, and some Carters on the Great Northern Railway. I called the labour leaders into a hall of the Mansion House, and after locking the doors explained to them the situation, and I worked upon them in this way: I put before them that they made this pledge one to another that they would not go back to work unless all sections were settled, and that that pledge, being a mutual pledge, ought not to be broken. Feeling that that pledge should not be broken, it was for them in the interests of labour and their own interests either to persuade or somehow obtain the consent of those outstanding sections to fall in with the views of the rest of the labour party and get a settlement by consent. The

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dockers' leader got up and made one of the most eloquent speeches that I have ever heard, so much so that when at the end of it I said we would now hear what the railway men had to say, the seamen's leader said: "Oh, don't say any more; I am convinced; I will go and tell what has been said to my committee and to a mass meeting this evening, and I will try to come back at 10 or 11 o'clock, with our answer." At ten o'clock he was back saying he had obtained the consent of the seamen to modify the terms so that an agreement could be made with the employers. There still remained the carters—a very difficult set of men, who were very angry and who at that period could obtain very little. I told the labour leaders that this proposition was put up to them and that I must ask them to go down with me and bring all their influence to bear upon the carters to return to work with the rest of the city. They did so and for between two and three hours spoke, implored and almost cursed the carters in urging them to give way. One of the leaders behind me said to me: "I have been in many meetings, but never in one like this." He asked me what I was going to do. "I am going to stay there until ten o'clock to-morrow morning to get a resolution," I said. About 2.30 a.m., I rose and made a resumé of all the speeches that had been made. I put before these men that because of pledges made by the Great Northern Railway to their colleagues in the other railways, they could not possibly at that time give what the men wanted; that they were under contract and must keep good faith, and that on that ground the men were unable to press on the G.N.R. to break their agreement. I promised to speak to the General Manager and see whether he could soften some of the difficulties that existed, and also that in regard to the imprisonment of some of their colleagues, which they said was unfair, that I would see the Home Secretary with a view to examination of the cases and possible remission of sentence, but that nothing could be given at that time, and that beyond that I would not pledge myself to anything. The moment I sat down, one of the labour leaders got up and said: "By G—, men, give Mr. Askwith a chance. Up with your hands." Hands went up. "Those against." Three hands went up. The resolution was carried.

That same morning I was awoken by a noise at 7.30. I looked out of the window and saw one solitary lorry with a

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detective in plain clothes walking by its side. I thought "this thing has failed," but being too tired to do anything else, I lay down again until 9.30, when a noise like thunder woke me. I went to the window again, and in the large square opposite the Manchester Town Hall on one side were going out the Scots Greys who had been garrisoning Salford, on the other side were the Metropolitan and Birmingham police going to the railway station to leave the city, and in the main street were mile upon mile of lorries laden with goods coming from the docks to be distributed in the city and to the cotton mills.

In the succeeding London strikes, there were many other matters into which I cannot go here, but I may say that this question of agreements was one of serious importance. In the railway strike, it became so complicated that although contracts were undoubtedly broken, parliament was obliged to step in and urge discussion on both sides. That discussion ended in the appointment of a Royal Commission which made certain suggestions, and at a further meeting at which I was chairman, a scheme was finally drawn up, and under this scheme the railways of Great Britain are working at the present moment. I trust it may be a scheme which will stand the difficulties of the increased cost of living and other matters in the future.

Then, again, there were disputes in Dundee and Glasgow in the winter. There was a great lock-out last February in North-East Lancashire in the cotton trade, not upon any question of cost of living or of that kind, but upon what is known as the union or non-union question, a very difficult question because it is one of principles on both sides, on which neither employers nor employees are willing to give way.

Then after those strikes there came the coal dispute of the Spring. There the question of the breach of agreement was a very serious one. It was alleged upon both sides that agreements had been broken. On that there was no one to decide. It was a recrimination on both sides as to who had broken the agreement, and in that case Parliament stepped in and by the union of the two great parties, but with the Labour party voting against it, voted that there should be a coal mines minimum wage act. The passing of that act is too recent to give any description of its effect. You cannot pluck up a plant by its roots to see how it is growing just after it has been put in the

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earth. But it may be hoped that in that act there is at least the germ of quietness in one of the most difficult trades in the whole world to deal with—the mining industry.

Then after that there was the recently settled dock dispute in London. That involved breaches of agreement, of which there were allegations on both sides, and there again party feeling had become so acute that it was very difficult to say that by any means whatever a war could have been prevented. The issue on which it was ostensibly fought was again on the union and non-union question, and the result of that strike has not done anything whatever to settle that question; but it may be that the allegations which have been made will lead to a revision of agreements, and that upon those agreements which both sides intend to make and upon which they rely, there may be the basis of future peace.

At the present moment there is a comparative lull, but I am not going to prophesy what may be the future course of events. The words which I have said to-day are an endeavor to show the importance of getting agreements made and kept. I am not despondent of the future. It has been boasted by our country, and almost every foreign nation has said—that our country is one that is able to settle things. Settlement implies an agreement, an agreement upon which reliance can be placed, and in my opinion neither nations nor trades nor industries can have a lasting progress upon a basis of broken faith.

[31st October, 1912]

RECREATION SURVEY OF MONTREAL.

By MISS JULIA SCHOENFELD
Field Secretary of the Playgrounds Association of America.

THIS City of Montreal has, as you know, grown very rapidly, and somehow people have quite unconsciously fallen into the habit of regarding Mount Royal as sufficient for the recreational needs of the city, forgetting that Montreal has widened and added new wards where the people are far away from the mountain. There are few men and women who will travel daily a mile from their homes for outdoor pleasure.

Montreal has 827 acres of park ground, which is very little considered in the light of the population of 550,000. Of that, 128 acres is on St. Helen's Island, which is practically inaccessible for a large part of the year, and transportation is not good at any time. Then 39 acres is used for dumping purposes, and is hardly therefore of use to the people. A city should have five per cent. of its area devoted to parks, but this city has only 2.8. I will compare you with a few cities in Canada and the United States in order to bring these principles more clearly before you.

Toronto has 1,605 acres of park land, allowing 265 people to an acre of park. Altogether, 3.7 of its entire area is devoted to parks and playgrounds.

Winnipeg has 578.5 acres, with 303 people to an acre, and 3.9 of its entire area devoted to parks.

New York—our most congested city—has 7,731 acres of park, with 616 people to an acre, and 3.7 per cent. So that the most congested city in the United States and on this continent, has a better record than Montreal, the largest city in Canada.

Philadelphia gives six per cent. of its total area for parks and playgrounds, with 305 people to the acre.

Recreation Survey of Montreal

Boston holds 2,403 acres, but the state owns 10,300 acres, so that there are about 300 people to every acre of park in that city.

Rochester has 10 per cent. of its area and Minneapolis 9.9 per cent. of area for parks and playgrounds.

On the question of expenditure over playgrounds, Montreal has four playgrounds under the Parks and Playgrounds Association, costing \$3,051, or .005 per capita. Toronto has thirteen playgrounds at .05 per capita. Winnipeg with thirteen playgrounds, spends .09 per capita. Detroit, with twenty-four playgrounds, spends .04 per capita. Pittsburgh has 52 playgrounds and spends .18 per capita, or a total of \$96,797, exclusive of any money expended on parks or recreation buildings. Buffalo—which is less in size than Montreal, having a population of 400,000—has twelve playgrounds, expends .22 per capita.

My reason for emphasizing this question of expenditure on playgrounds is because it is so intimately connected in Montreal with your housing problem. We have made a study of several wards in the city, in such wards as Ste. Cunegonde, St. Joseph, St. Mary, Papineau, where we found houses built back to back leaving no space for playgrounds and very little for air. In the town district there were double rows of houses close to the street, and in many courtyards we found extra buildings, the space between the two rows of buildings varying from ten feet square to 10 ft. by 20 ft. That is just a little bit opposed to your present building code, but is made possible because many of the building regulations in that code are subject to the discretion of your building inspector, who may nullify much of the good by exercising his discretion in matters of this sort.

The ideal plan is to have a playground within half a mile of all the homes of the working people. One acre of ground can supply 300 children, that being the estimate arrived at by many years of study on the part of English and American experts. Playgrounds in Montreal meet the needs of one per cent. of the children. You have 80,500 children registered in public and private schools. That does not say you have not a larger number of children; but in the absence of compulsory education and factory law, a large percentage of those who ought to be in the schools are working, so that it is quite impossible to obtain correct figures.

I have been particularly interested in finding out what the children would say, so I asked pupils in public schools to write an essay telling what they did in their leisure hours. From 700 papers I picked out samples and tabulated the results. 33.5 per cent. walked the streets and looked in shop windows: 14 per cent. went in for outdoor sports; and 35 per cent. attended moving picture shows. But this does not represent the number who go to moving picture shows, because some of these papers came from English schools, the pupils of which spoke of going to service both morning and afternoon on Sunday, while different ideas about spending Sunday would mean that other children would go to these shows on that day, so the percentage would be higher if the facts were really known. Fifty-four per cent. of children did homework or looked after babies when they went home, this being chiefly so with girls. I feel that there is a great absence of any effort for girls' welfare.

I enquired of the principals of the public schools, both Protestant and Catholic, whether their buildings had within the last two years ever been used for public lectures or concerts or other recreation, and I was informed that they had not. Here I felt there was a great opportunity missed; that Montreal might make much use of the property she already has, which ought to be used all the time and to be open in the evenings for the people.

One of the things I was interested in in Chicago was the results accomplished in a district where there were municipal playgrounds and recreation shelters, as compared with another district where there were no playgrounds. They found that 39 per cent. of children were kept out of the juvenile court because they had playgrounds and recreation places which other places did not have. Most juvenile crime is committed between the hours of seven and nine, the hours you find boys on the streets. Mr. Rufus D. Smith and I stood on St. Lawrence Main from 9 to 10 p.m. one evening and observed 125 girls of the age of sixteen or so promenading, unattended, simply because they had no place to spend their evenings. So that there is a great opportunity for ladies here in Montreal to do this particular kind of work.

You have eleven public bath houses in Montreal, five of which close in winter. I found that one day a week was allowed

for women and girls in these baths, a certain portion of the morning and afternoon; consequently the attendance is very light. It seems to be overlooked that it is quite impossible for working girls to use them at those hours any more than working men. There ought to be bath houses provided for women and girls at all hours, so that in working districts they may have the same opportunities as men. Further, I feel that bath houses might be made of greater value by using them for recreative as well as for hygienic purposes, such for instance, as water sports, and so forth. There is room for the development of that kind of work.

Commercial enterprises are doing more for the amusement of the people than the city. The city last year spent \$1,500 on park concerts and \$700 on playgrounds. That is all I find the city spent for the people's recreation. Taking commercial amusements, you have here sixty theatres altogether, this including moving picture shows. The total capacity of the picture shows is 27,000 with a weekly attendance, of 375,438, and in all theatres of 440,081. The total capacity of all theatres, now 36,928, will be increased by 4,000 more in a few weeks, when three more moving picture houses will open.

In looking over motion picture houses here to find out what part they play in theatrical life, I found that the moving picture is a very good entertainment. They are not by any means all down town, but you have them in every part, showing that they cater to the needs of these neighbourhoods because there is nothing else. The small show house violates the law in regard to numbers, but the building itself is generally fairly good, while the standard of films is a great deal better than I have found in much larger cities; but the ventilation, lighting and sanitation could be improved. The pictures on the outside of these houses are a great deal more sensational than I found them inside. It is the bill-posters which we are doing away with in other cities. In any case, I believe it is possible to eliminate that part by friendly conference with the managers.

From the Young Men's Christian Association I gathered the information that there are sixty-three billiard and pool-rooms. Of twenty which were visited, two only were first-class; the other eighteen were poorly ventilated, badly lighted, and were poor club houses for the working man. No effort was

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made to keep them up to any standard. Twenty per cent. were located over or adjacent to saloons, a combination which is particularly bad. There are fourteen bowling alleys and six indoor skating rinks. On the commercial side of recreation, Montreal does good business; but it appears to me that what is needed in this city is to consider recreation from the social point of view, and not to try to regulate the motion picture or commercial amusement from the point of view of the police, but from the attitude of the social worker, and to appoint inspectors not members of the police, who will be—as in other cities—part of a public welfare board, working from the social point of view to see that the laws are enforced. Your police have many duties to attend to, and I feel they should not have this addition to their work.

In studying the recreational movement, we must consider what kind of playgrounds are wanted and where they need to be placed. The entire matter of playgrounds is important, and really has as important a place in the community as the question of public instruction. But the playground without teachers, uncontrolled and ungoverned is not enough: the supervised playground is the only one worth having. In it the children have someone to care for them and to teach them interesting games, so that all their resourcefulness is drawn out. The results obtained in such playgrounds are so superior that a return to the old style is never considered by those who have experience of both. In the undirected playground, the vicious habits of the street are simply transferred to the playground. Playgrounds rightly come under social work, for it is a preventive work and far less costly than reformatories and juvenile courts.

I could suggest where playgrounds should be placed in Montreal, but I will not tell you where. But you have forty-nine parks and squares of different sizes. I have taken the parks of an acre or more and have suggested to the city that they develop these instead of having those signs: "Keep off the grass," and that the children be allowed to play upon them; also to have them well lighted in the evening so that the adults can enjoy themselves just as they would in the daytime.

Now it is not the business of a city to foster or supplement the amusements of those who are able to pay, but simply to provide for those who are unable. In planning a recreational

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programme for Montreal, I feel the first thing to do is to place the management under one particular and responsible body. In having the management scattered or divided, you lessen the force of your work. So, after discussing the matter with people interested in this question of child's play, I would suggest that the new Parks Commission should take over the entire charge of recreation. They know the needs and resources, and would be well capable of undertaking the task.

After placing the general management, the next thing to consider is how to start. The most economic way of doing this is to bring here an organizing secretary, an expert who has had experience in cities of similar size, knowing how to conduct playgrounds and to organize the movement, one who will know how to deal with the business interests and help to raise the standard of commercial enterprises, and co-operate with the authorities in regard to bath-houses and so forth.

Then the next most patent thing you would want is the opening of playgrounds in every ward of the city wherever they are needed for all the children.

The second thing needed is the establishment in two places of your city of bath-houses for the people. Parc Lafontaine and Fletcher's Field both offer splendid opportunities for boys and girls, and men and women; and since there is such a lack of meeting halls, here is an opportunity of providing meeting places and club-houses.

In the third place, the opening of school-houses for recreational work should be proceeded with just as quickly as you need them, and as the community demand them.

Fourth: the building of more bath-houses in whatever wards they are needed, should be undertaken. In St. Lawrence ward, for instance, where is situated the University Settlement where I am staying, two-thirds of the people in the neighbourhood have no facilities in their homes for bathing; so it is necessary to have public baths, and at the same time to consider that the district lacks meeting halls. In building a public bath-house it is an economy to go in for the erection of an additional storey, thus making it a social centre as well as a public bath, so that gymnasium, reading room and other recreational purposes can be served in connection with the public bath-house.

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Fifthly: Recreation piers on the river, which would not interfere with business, would be of great benefit, and it is to be regretted that no reservation has been made on the banks of the St. Lawrence for the people. Bellerive Park, in St. Gabriel's Ward, would be a good location for a pier, and I hope on my next visit I may find that a recreation pier has been placed here.

The question of a training school also comes up. There are many people in this city who could qualify for work in recreation and supervision of playgrounds if there were any training provided. So I suggest a training school or class to be established either in connection with the University* or your Normal School, so that your own young people may have the opportunity of training for this work in the city, which they know so well.

Then, as a final suggestion, I feel that the entire matter of the regulation of the commercial amusement resort should be taken out of the police department and placed under your licensing bureau, to which from our point of view it really belongs. That may be a matter of opinion, but we feel that the people who issue licenses for amusement enterprises are the people who should control them, and under them should be the inspectors who would report and see that these places are conducted in accordance with the by-laws that you have concerning them.

* This has been done, in connection with the Physical Education classes.—EDITOR.

[November 11th, 1912]

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE AND THE COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

By N. W. ROWELL, K.C.

(Leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature)

DURING the past thirty or forty years, four different proposals—if I may so describe them—have been submitted as to the form which the Imperial organization might take that would be influential in the government of the Empire.

1. The first I might describe as THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION IDEA—the idea that the permanent organization of the Empire would be found in the present Imperial Parliament, in which the different Colonies would be represented both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords; for many years that idea was strongly pressed to the front by many interested in the consolidation of the Empire. In recent years it has been found by, I think, all thoughtful statesmen that the solution of the problem is not to be found there, and I think at the present time no responsible statesman of either Dominions or Mother Country advocates this solution of the problem of Imperial Organization.

2. The next proposal—and one that is still held by many—is the creation of an Imperial Council, or Parliament of Defence, which should control all matters of foreign policy or defence, in which all the Dominions should be represented; and that this should have the necessary legislative and administrative jurisdiction to ensure effective defence and operation of the military forces of the Empire. That proposal, or a suggestion of that kind, was submitted to the Imperial Conference, in 1902, by

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Mr. Joseph Chamberlain as an alternative to the Imperial Federation idea, but the proposal was unanimously rejected by the Conference. One somewhat similar was submitted to the Imperial Conference of last year by Sir Joseph Ward of New Zealand, and his proposal was also unanimously rejected, the representatives of the Mother Country and of the Dominions all agreeing that that was not the best solution of the problem, and that the time was not opportune for presenting such a proposal.

The other two proposals are that the Imperial Conference itself should constitute—if I may so describe it—the germ of an Imperial organization which in time will become the real centre, that is, the unifying centre, for the management of those affairs which all parts of the Empire manage in common. Others suggest that the Committee of Imperial Defence may constitute that central unifying force.

I wish, this afternoon, to briefly outline the history and personnel of the Conference and of the Committee of Imperial Defence, so that as this question is bound to come up to us in the future in a more urgent and pressing form than it has in the past, we may keep in mind the character and functions of these two bodies.

I.—THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The Imperial Conference was formed by a resolution passed at the Colonial Conference of 1907, passed unanimously, the representatives of the Mother Country and of the self-governing Dominions voting for it. Let me tell you its composition. Ex-officio members of the Imperial Conference are—the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Colonial Secretary, and the Prime Ministers of all the self-governing Dominions. On particular matters where particular questions are coming up, the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions may invite certain of their colleagues to sit with them as members of the Conference, but when it comes to a vote, it is simply one vote for each Government. The Conference is formed for the purpose of discussing matters of common interest to all parts of the Empire.

Let me note in passing three or four striking characteristics of this Imperial Conference.

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1. It is representative in its character. It speaks for all the self-governing Dominions as well as the Mother Country.

2. It is responsible, and is so because it is composed of Prime Ministers who command a parliamentary majority, and who under normal conditions are in a position to give effect in their home parliaments to the resolutions agreed upon at the Conference.

3. It recognizes the autonomy of all the self-governing portions of the Empire, because no resolution can become effective unless it is assented to by all the Dominions as well as the Mother Country.

When this Imperial Conference was created, possibly some of us did not realize the full importance and significance of it. If one had time—which I have not—to trace the discussion of the proposal originally submitted to the Conference and the modifications in the form of the resolution before it was finally passed, one might realize its significance. As originally introduced, it was for a Conference between the Government of the Mother Country and the Colonies. That word "Colonies" has passed out of the resolution and it has become the "Dominions." It was a Conference originally between His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, and representatives of the Colonies. In the final form it is a Conference between His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions. It is a Conference between Governments standing on absolute equality in that Conference, and in the negotiations and all that takes place in it. That this is the real significance of that resolution, I ask you not to accept the word of a man who lives in one of the Dominions, but to listen to a paragraph from a student of the whole Imperial question—the Editor of "The Round Table," a most interesting magazine which I hope many of you read. In speaking on this question, he says:—

"This resolution established the status of the Dominion as a national entity, entirely distinct from that which inhabits the British Isles. It recognizes that the basis of imperial organization was the co-operation of five nations, not the centralization of power in the hands of the British acting as an Imperial Parliament. It finally destroyed the older conception of imperial development as a gradual re-union of the Colonies with the Mother Country through representatives in either of the British Houses of Parliament."

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This is the significance of that resolution as interpreted by one of the British students of our constitutional history and development. From that time forth we have the public recognition by official action of all these governments of what we in Canada had before claimed, of what some in the Mother Country had hitherto recognized, that Canada had passed from the position of a Colony to that of one of the free nations of the earth, and that henceforth in all our relations and in all our negotiations, we stand not as a subordinate and subject people dealing with a superior Parliament and a dominant race, but stand on absolute equality in all our relations and in all our negotiations between the Mother Country and ourselves.

Now I wish I had time—but I have not—to trace the gradual evolution of that idea. We did not reach this stage at a bound. It took a series of Conferences to lead up to it. In 1897, when the first resolution was passed looking to periodical Conferences, it was a resolution that there might be Conferences between the representatives of the Colonies and the Mother Country. In 1902, when the next resolution was passed, it went a step further and said “periodical conferences at about four years apart between representatives of the Colonies and the Colonial Secretary.” In 1907 it was “Conferences between His Majesty’s Government in Great Britain and H.M. Governments of the Dominions beyond the Seas.” You see the gradual evolution of our status through all these resolutions.

Just a word on what this Imperial Conference has accomplished, because if we realize what has been done in the past, we are better able to form some idea of the service it may do for the Empire in the future. Let me mention just one or two matters. I wish I could discuss with you its relation to imperial trade, its relation to the question of imperial organization, and its relation to imperial defence. I will only touch on the latter because that is the one that looms largest in our minds at the moment.

Take the year 1885, when the proposal was first made to the Government of Canada that Canada should participate in the wars of the Empire by assisting the British in Egypt, as the Australian Colonies had offered to do. The Government of our country took the ground that Canada would not participate in these wars. In 1887, at the first Colonial Conference, when

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the British Government suggested that the time had come that the Colonies should assist in naval defence, not in maintaining the imperial fleet, not maintaining coaling stations or naval bases, but assist as the Crown Colonies were doing in the support of those naval bases and coaling stations, what answer did Canada make? That in the negotiations that led up to Confederation, it was understood that we were to spend 200,000 pounds on our own land defences, that Great Britain would take care of naval defence. "We are spending two hundred thousand pounds on our own land defence, and we feel that we have discharged our responsibility." In 1902, matters had so far progressed that Canada offered to take over the naval bases at Halifax and Esquimalt. In 1905 that was accepted. At the Imperial Conference in 1907 it was decided to hold a subsidiary naval conference, and in 1909 that subsidiary naval conference was held, when Australia and Canada arrived at a basis for dealing with their naval defence.

The Conference of 1911 was accompanied by a Conference dealing with naval questions. Let me mention what was accomplished in connection with naval defence in that Conference. Whether we agree or not, it is a matter of history.

In the Conference of 1909 it was decided that Australia and Canada should both develop their own naval units. I should mention to you that in 1887 at the Colonial Conference of that year, when Canada declined to make any contribution to naval defence, Australia took a different position. She offered a monetary contribution for naval defence, provided an auxiliary naval squadron was stationed in Australian waters. That was carried out, and for nearly twenty years Australia under agreement with the Imperial Government was making an annual contribution towards the maintenance of the Imperial navy, and was getting in return an auxiliary squadron stationed there.

In 1897 at the Colonial Conference of that year, Australia through her representatives, stated that that arrangement was unsatisfactory—unsatisfactory to Australia, and also to the Mother Country, and they asked liberty to withdraw from their agreement, although it had not spent its full force. They asked to be permitted to establish their own naval base and squadron. That was consented to by the British Government, and was worked out in the subsidiary conference of 1909.

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In 1911, at the further Conference, they worked out the agreement under which the naval squadrons of Australia and of Canada should co-operate with the Imperial squadron in peace and war.

Let me mention one or two provisions of that agreement, for although it was changed so far as Canada was concerned, it still remains in force between Great Britain and Australia, and it is of interest to know what that agreement is. That agreement delimits the area, the portion of the high seas upon which Canada and Australia respectively shall fly the flag and protect the commerce and defend the honor of the Empire. Australia has as her naval base and her maritime territory—if I may so describe it—the Southern Pacific, a certain defined area. Canada has as hers the Western half of the North Atlantic and the Eastern half of the North Pacific. Under the agreement that now exists, that is our territory where Great Britain looks to us to protect commerce and maintain the honor and dignity of the Empire. Australia is doing her share, and the rest of the Empire is looking to Canada to do hers.

Another feature of the agreement is that it provides for the interchange of officers. It provides that in case of war, the Dominions which have control through their parliaments of their fleets, shall place these fleets at the disposal of the Admiralty of the Mother Country. They remain under the command of the Admiralty until the war is over. There is no withdrawal. Once by the action of the government of any Dominion the fleet is placed under the control of the Admiralty, it continues under control until the war is over.

Now approaching for a moment the question of Land Defence. What has been accomplished during the same period? I cannot go into details, but I will mention just one or two matters.

In the year 1907, at the Colonial Conference of that year, provision was made for the organization of an Imperial General Staff which would seek to bring into harmony the training and discipline and whole management of the forces of the Empire. In 1909, that Imperial General Staff was created, and at the Imperial Conference of 1911 a report was presented showing what had been worked out in that important respect in connection with the land forces of the Empire.

Now, if time permitted, I could tell you what those Conferences have done in the way of developing Imperial trade and in other forms of Imperial co-operation. I only want to mention what I am afraid we have not sufficiently realized in the past, that we have in the Imperial Conference a truly representative Imperial organization which has been accomplishing a great work in unifying the forces of the Empire and in drawing us closer together. And it has been our experience in the past, as it will be in the future, that as we come together and actively co-operate, we find the means of further co-operation. The British Cabinet system is not mentioned anywhere in the legislation of Great Britain. It grew up out of the necessities of the case to meet the exigencies of government under the British system. I venture to think if we follow past history, we may in our Imperial Conference find a similar growth and expansion, a powerful, central organ of government that will spread over the whole Empire and in some measure serve the Empire in the same manner as the Cabinet system serves under the British form of government.

II.—THE COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

The Committee of Imperial Defence was formed for an entirely different purpose. Its genesis dates back to the Committee of Colonial Defence, or perhaps to the year 1895, when Lord Salisbury secured the appointment of a Committee of Defence of the Imperial Government. Under the British Cabinet system, one Minister has charge of the Army, another charge of the Navy, a third charge of Foreign Affairs, a fourth charge of India, a fifth charge of the Colonies, a sixth of the National Exchequer. In any large and comprehensive scheme of defence it was necessary that all these should be consulted, and the Committee of Imperial Defence was formed in order that these Ministers and the permanent officers of their departments could confer on all the matters in which they were concerned, that they might agree upon the policy that they should recommend as that of the whole Government.

Let me show you, first, the composition of this Committee, and then its functions. I should say, first, the only permanent member of this Committee is the British Prime Minister. The Imperial Defence Committee consists of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and such others as he may invite to sit as members of the Committee. They may be members of his own Government; they may be members of our Government; they may be members of the permanent staff; they may not be either; but under normal conditions this Committee consists of the following:—All Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, for the Colonies, for War, for India, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Permanent Secretaries and other important officers of these departments, together with one or two others, such as Lord Haldane and Lord Kitchener.

Then what are the functions of this Committee?

1. To facilitate any discussion and agreement as to matters of Imperial defence which fall within the purview of more than one department, and which otherwise might involve long and indecisive correspondence. It is primarily an inter-departmental committee of the British Cabinet to facilitate thorough dealing with matters of Imperial defence.

2. To advise in case of any question relating to general defence which may be referred to it by the Secretary of State at the request of a self-governing Colony. Let me say in passing that when the Imperial Conference was created in 1907, one of the resolutions passed was that any of the self-governing Dominions might, through the Colonial Secretary, refer to the Secretary of the Imperial Conference any matter on which they desired the advice of this Committee, and that for that purpose a representative of the Dominion might sit as a member of the Committee of Imperial Defence. So that already, representatives of Canada have on more than one occasion sat on the Committee of Imperial Defence when our matters were under discussion.

3. To bring naval and military experts into direct touch with Ministers to advise them on questions arising in Parliament and elsewhere, as misunderstandings may occur from minutes and memoranda.

The Committee is a purely consultative body, having no executive or administrative functions. In 1904 this Committee

was given a more permanent form by the appointment of a permanent Secretary. Since then, various sub-committees have been formed, which deal with important questions of defence, and the result is a committee for the co-ordination of determined action on the outbreak of war, with arrangements for early notification, so that it is brought up to date.

As I have mentioned already, Canadians have had a place on that Committee. I believe the first was Sir Frederic Borden when he went over in connection with taking over the naval bases at Halifax and Esquimalt. Then in 1911 our representatives were asked to sit as members of this Committee to listen to a discussion of the foreign policy of the Empire, and in 1912, when Mr. Borden and his colleagues went over, they were asked to occupy seats on this Committee of Imperial Defence to listen to similar discussions.

That, in brief, is the outline of the two bodies. Let me point out one or two contrasts.

The first is representative of Governments: it is a consultation between Governments. The Committee of Defence is a consultation between individuals. The Imperial Conference is responsible because it is composed of Prime Ministers who have behind them a parliamentary majority. The Committee of Imperial Defence is not so responsible. It consists of those members who are chosen by the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The Conference deals with all matters of commanding interest affecting the whole Empire. The Committee of Defence primarily exists to consider matters of defence, of recent developments such as aerial warfare and of foreign policy. It is only necessary to point out the contrast to enable us to appreciate the position which these two bodies hold in relation to the Empire. I think it is only right we bear in mind this fact: we cannot have both these two bodies developing on an equality as central unifying bodies dealing with the government of the Empire. One is bound to be paramount and the other subordinate. The question, then, that we may be called upon to consider is which we desire to see become paramount and which subordinate. At the present time, the Committee of Imperial Defence is subordinate to the British Cabinet as an advisory body. In a sense it is subordinate to the Imperial Conference as an advisory body. The question arises, then, whether in the

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larger Imperial interests it should be exalted and the Committee of the Imperial Conference take a secondary place. I shall not express any opinion upon that. It may become a matter for political discussion.

Let me say, in conclusion, however, much we may differ on details of methods of dealing with this important matter, I am sure we will all agree on this—that we are the inheritors not only of great traditions, but of great ideals of government. Under no other system of government have you so large a liberty for the individual, existing side by side with the fact of stability and security for the State. Under no other system of government have you that truly representative responsible government where citizens of all classes and all creeds are not only tolerated, but success of the government depends upon their active co-operation in the affairs of government. We can have no better illustration than what we see in Canada or in South Africa. Under no other system of government that I know of, could the conditions that exist in Canada and South Africa exist. That is the great tradition and the great ideal. We have inherited it. It comes to us with all that comes from the past. We cannot shirk our responsibility. Let us perpetuate that great ideal, not only for the sake of the Empire, but for the sake of the object-lesson to all the other nations of the world. And just as we believe that under our system of government the largest liberty of the individual means the highest progress and best development of the individual, we owe it to the more backward races of the world to maintain this high example and high tradition, so that it may gradually spread abroad further and further, so that these races may develop in turn the idea of responsible self-government just as the more progressive races to-day enjoy it.

One other word. Our own self-respect as one of the free nations of the Empire, demands that we should no longer delay accepting our fair share of responsibility for maintaining the navy. We aspire to be a nation: we must not shirk a nation's responsibilities. We aspire to take our place among the free nations of the Empire: we must prove ourselves worthy by being prepared to bear the burdens that go with the privileges and responsibilities. There may be differences of opinion about an emergency at this moment; but if there is an emergency shown,

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we are all agreed, I am sure, that Canada should be equal to it. But whether there be an emergency or not, we are all agreed, I think—or the great majority—that we shall best promotes our own welfare, the welfare, peace and harmony of the Empire, in taking our place with the other self-governing Dominions and do our duty to help maintain the ideals and the best traditions of the Flag which means so much wherever it flies throughout this wide world.

[November 18th, 1912]

SOME INTERNATIONAL FUNDAMENTALS.

By DR. J. A. MACDONALD

AS a newspaper man, I have a perfect right to be ambiguous if I want to be, although that is not one of the failings usually charged against me. Without any preliminaries I want to say something about some international fundamentals—not superficials but fundamentals, nor mere local ones, but international; and knowing the Canadian Club, that the one thing it requires of a man if he have anything to say, is that he shall say it straight away without being ambiguous and without thinking that everybody is going to accept what he says. Besides, if I thought every one of you agreed with more than one-half of what I say, I would not think it worth my while saying it.

The trouble with us in Canada is that we deal far too much with superficials, and that when we do deal with fundamentals, a catch-phrase is made to mean far more than the real doctrine. Now, it may be permissible to hold a man during a political campaign responsible for a catch-phrase, but it is not in sober thought on large affairs.

My first fundamental is this: That there shall be two nations representing what I may call—for want of a better term—English-speaking civilization and power; that there shall be two nations on this continent—not one—representing English-speaking civilization and power.

Now, I do not like that word “English-speaking.” I won’t say “Anglo-Saxon,” because the most important man would be shut out. I have always thanked God that there was no Angle or Saxon in me, and there are a good many more in Montreal who have the same distinction. The “Anglo-Celtic” does not

exactly do, although that is better by a long way. Some of you learned men ought to invent a new name. But let it go at that, that there shall be two nations on this continent, and those who speak Gaelic will know I make no reflections upon the Gaelic, because it is my own ancestral language; and the same if any man has the distinction of speaking French alone, he will understand it in the same way. So let it go, that there shall be two nations representing English-speaking civilization and power. That is a commonplace, but all fundamental things are, and I am ready to admit that I do not find any serious desire or expectation that there shall be but one nation in America representing that civilization. I do not find it in Canada, for instance, not very strong. I do not find it in the United States in any informed and serious minds; and I say to my friends on the other side of the line that we in Canada have no serious antipathy to you who live over there, because there is too much common blood in us both, too much of what is good and bad in us both for either of us to look at the other with a sense of superiority. But we have in Canada certain advantages that are ours because we are Canadian and not American. There are certain things that are ours because we do not live in the Republic; because we came one hundred years after the setting up of the Republic; advantages are ours in government and in law that we would not have had in the Republic. Their system with its checks and balances is perhaps the worst in the English-speaking world. It is worse than ours not because of anything that we have done, but because they came before there was responsible government anywhere in the world, and took the system as it was developed in England, changed the names and non-essentials, and mixed in some incoherent notions of French Republicanism and other things that would not coalesce, and fixed it all in an elaborately detailed constitution, the articles of which they have been trying ever since to evade in order to get things done. The fight for the principle of responsible government was made as fights often have been made in the Mother Country, and we, coming a century after the American Republic, have had all the advantages of that struggle for the rights of the people and we inherit these rights. Whatever you may say about my being a Radical—and I am bound to confess that for the last 250 years there has not been a drop of Toryism in my blood,

my ancestors being anti-burghers whose chief doctrine was "Damn the Tories"—but notwithstanding all this, I am free to say that when I witness an American election, I am thankful I am the subject of a king, and that the head of the Government in this Dominion does not have to run the gauntlet as do the heads of their executive. And when I stood in Madison Square and saw fifteen thousand people crowding in, and saw the man that 14,999 of them wanted to be the head of their great Republic standing on a table ten feet high, surrounded by Bull Moosers and candidates for the executive, I was thankful I did not belong to either. I was thankful for these institutions that are ours because we came a hundred years after history had done the thing and given us responsible government, with which came the better administration of law. For one of the things that makes citizenship in this Dominion acceptable to hundreds of thousands who come from the Republic is that whether it is in the City of Montreal, the City of Toronto or in the Yukon that the law is administered, it is administered with inexorableness and justice, and not with respect to whether the man who ought to be sent to the penitentiary has a vote for the judge in the next election.

More than that: there are conditions that are ours because of things we have done, that we do not wish to sacrifice, and one of these is that Canada paved the way for free nations overseas within the empire. That which loyal Americans thought could be done, and failed to do, a century before—that they could have their local government adequate and free as they wished and still remain a part of Britain—in the next century was done by Canada. Then, having got as much liberty as we desire, and having more democracy than they have in their Republic, less interference with the will of the people (a little more of course than in England—for I admit there is more democracy in Great Britain than in Canada or the United States), Canada prepared the way for Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, coming after us to be free nations within the Empire and not without. I say that we sacrificed none of our traditions, none of the background of our history, but kept it for ourselves and those who come after us, and because of that, I find no intelligent opinion in Canada anywhere—whatever it may have been before—in favor of the political union of these two countries.

I am bound to say with all frankness, that I find no desire or expectation in the mind of any intelligent man in the American Republic for the political union of these two countries. I know about "adjuncts" and "annexation" and so on: but the philosophy of international relations on this continent was expressed to me by Secretary of State Knox, with Mr. Taft and Senator Root present, in terms I am quite willing to accept, and to pass over the talk of Champ Clark, who freely confessed that all he knew about Canada was that the best people he knew were moving up there. Secretary of State Knox said:—

"Instead of desiring political union of these two countries, it is to our advantage that your country should stay out of the Republic and should stay in the Empire. If there were no Canada, it would be in the interests of the United States that one should be created and should be made an integral part of the Empire of Britain."

I asked him why?

"For this very good reason, he said, that the power of America to-day is the power of the United States plus the power of the Dominion of Canada, plus the power of Great Britain, and upon the plus Britain depends a navy in the North Pacific. Down in Texas where there are 2,300 Americans representing the advertising clubs, I used that very argument, and said 'You men of San Francisco and Los Angeles know what it means for the safety of the Pacific that there should be a plus Britain,' and the answer they shouted was an emphatic declaration of the fact that two flags representing the common civilization were afloat on the Pacific. What men on the Pacific know, men in the middle and Atlantic states are beginning to learn; it is coming home to them every time they face what may be involved for them in the Monroe Doctrine—two flags, and not one plus Great Britain. I am bound to say that no man knows the American opinion who has not felt it in the last few years since the Manilla Bay affair, when hundreds of men in the Spanish war were anti-British: when there came almost a crisis, and there might have been interference. A man who was on one of the ships at that time said: 'I can tell you a mighty uncomfortable feeling came over us that we were right on a sandbank, and if there had been any interference from the British Admiralty, they would have cleared the decks for action.'"

I was quite prepared to hear what an American Admiral said at a dinner in London about the last ship—of course a most unpardonable thing, and he had to be rebuked by the executive of the American Republic, but the rebuke was not given nor the

officer degraded. And why? Because they saw where the alliance was, and I know that once or twice in real political crises it has been remembered that blood is thicker than water.

My second fundamental—which I do not need to emphasise—is this: That these two countries representing that common civilization and purpose shall live together, co-operating to promote the interests that are to the advantage of both.

Now it is not a bit of use saying there is to be no work or trade with the Yankees. It is no use saying "Damn the Yankees," because the worst of the Yankees is they will not be damned, and if you do damn them, they won't stay there, and there they are, and here we are, and neither of us can leave. They are quite friendly and we will say—at least I will stand for that—we will talk with you, we will walk with you, we will buy from you, but we will not join your Republic or follow your flag. But that these two peoples, who have so much in common and so much that they desire to exchange and exchange to advantage, should do so as much as Britain and Germany, is evident. I do not need to emphasise that doctrine.

My third fundamental is this:—

That these two nations on this continent, representing so much in common of civilization and of interest, shall stand together for maintaining the highest and best that this Anglo-American civilization offers.

We have inherited in our laws and in many features of our life so much that was developed for us in a thousand years of old history, and these ideals are at this moment endangered by the incoming of great masses of aliens, who are a danger to both our civilization and our ideals of government. On both sides of the line there is danger by the touch of republics which are not a democracy—in the South and in the Far East. Whatever we may do with trade, we cannot build a tariff wall against ideals, and we cannot put poison into the blood of this continent without having the venom run everywhere. I proved that in Mexico when an oyster poisoned me. What may be done by the oyster microbe in Mexico may be done to our nation and to our political ideals and may be done to the most sacred thing in our lives. We do not recognize it, and the danger to both these countries is that freedom is imperilled by autocracies

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compared with which the lords and dukes and landed aristocrats of England are gentlemen.

The significant thing about the democracy in the United States, and the hopeful thing, is that after fifty years of it they showed their English blood in what they did two weeks ago.

In America, therefore, we must, I say, Liberal as I am, stand against the unrestricted importation of the Oriental, of these people who in our country are supposed to have the vote because we are a democracy. In Toronto, so many people have the right to vote who do not care a tinker's curse—that is a newspaper word—about our ideals of life. Our political freedom is in the hands of men whose blood is not of the democracy. There is no more divine right for democracy than for a king. These people must be citizens of Canada before they are to get a vote in Canada. Giving them a vote does not liberate them from their obligation to the head of Japan or China. No man can serve two masters, not even the man from Japan.

My fourth fundamental is this:—

That the United States and Canada with their common interests shall stand together with Britain and what—for want of a better word—I am prepared to call the English-speaking fraternity.

It is beginning to be felt all over the world—no matter what the blood, what the ancestry; it may be Teuton; it may be Celtic; it may be French, Gaelic or German—but our institutions are those of the English-speaking fraternity. Britain has always stood for that, notwithstanding the abuse of the toryism of England, Britain has always led the way and adopted a friendly attitude towards the American Republic. And the interesting thing about American citizenship is this, that a generation is growing up which is beginning to go back of the year 1777, beginning to understand that Washington was not the real pioneer of human freedom, and that the Declaration of Independence was not the first manifesto of the liberty of the race, and they are rearranging their history and remaking their geography. A generation is growing up which says "My grandmother's grandfather was a Maclean; now where would he be from?" If your grandmother's grandfather was a Maclean, then he came from the Isle of Mull, where every Maclean had a boat of his own. And I find Americans tracing their genealogy

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back to Devon, to Greville of the "Revenge," and proud of that Devon blood. Our grandfathers were very good gentlemen, but our great, great, great grandfathers were most important characters. What does this mean in the American people? You find them tracing back their genealogy away beyond 1776, and claiming this as the very great thing for themselves and their children, this historical background of a thousand years and over, of achievement, of aspiration that means so much to you and me—the background of a nation, that for them had been cut off when they separated themselves so sharply and acutely from history. Now they are feeling their way back, and they feel that throb in the blood that makes them understand when they first hear the skylark on the meadows of England, or watch the sunset on the snows of Wales, or see the sheen on the Lakes of Killarney, or the purple flash on the Highlands—they know when that touch is struck within them and all that it means. And in the days to come, that blood touch that makes the English-speaking fraternity will be of omnipotence for all of us.

Therefore as a fundamental to all our politics, I lay down this: that these two English-speaking nations in America shall stand in with the Mother-country of both, for those ideals of life and civilization that we on this side have inherited from the Motherland.

My fifth fundamental is this:—

That Britain and America, Canada and the United States, and all, shall stand together with all nations and people of like purpose for the brotherhood of man.

This is made possible just because of what Canada has done in making possible an alliance—not an empire: the old imperial note of centralization has gone, and instead, it is an alliance of free nations. That is the significant thing that has been done. Stead used to say that the United States suggested a federation of the world because they had their own states federated. What is the secret of the alliance of Britain and overseas dominions? It is that they are all contiguous. India, Britain and all parts of Britain, are surrounded by the centring seas, and the same vital life flows through all.

I sometimes think of our overseas free nations and their relation to Britain, as the five fingers of a great hand. New-

foundland and Canada, Australia and New Zealand and South Africa—they are all free and closely related, and they all close towards the palm of the hand, and that great hand is spread over the seven seas, not the mailed fist of tyranny, but the open hand of goodwill to men.

The next step in federation is for this alliance and this fraternity to reach out to other nations—to France, of whose blood we have so much in this country that it ties us up in a fraternity for ever; to Germany, that has sent the best Teuton blood into Canada, and so gained the right to an open door into this alliance of fraternity. Then there is the Orient, with whose blood we may not mix either to their or to our own advantage; but because of the touch that we have with them, we must show our willingness to stand for the rights of each and for the good of all. The next is the broadening of our sympathies and the closing in of our ranks for the common liberties that are ours, and Canada has the best chance of all the Dominions of the Empire to lead the way. For myself I would not exchange its position, its prestige, its strategic point, for anything that all other nations could ever give. For what are we? A free nation, a part of the Empire of Britain and next door neighbour of the greatest republic in the world. To act as interpreter between these two is our business, to hold these two in a pact that no chicanery can ever break. Holding ourselves in touch with France's life, in touch with Germany in commerce, in touch with the great Orient, we can lead the way. We can show what cannot be seen anywhere else on God's earth; two nations proud as Lucifer, with four thousand miles of common boundary line; a thousand miles of great rivers, a thousand miles across great lakes, a thousand miles across great plains and a thousand miles across great mountains, and over all that four thousand miles never a fort, never a battleship, never a soldier—except such as are there for mere formality. Nowhere else is such a thing to be seen. That situation illustrates to Great Britain and Germany and all Europe and the whole world what civilization will do when it gets a chance at our international relations.

[*Monday, November 25, 1912.*]

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT FROM THE COUNTRY TO THE CITY.

DR. ADAM SHORTT.

The subject on which I have to address you is that old and ever new question, the reasons—economic, social, and so on—for the steady movement from the country to the city, and I wish to inflict on you at the very start all the figures that I have to give. I quote one or two figures from the last census, some of them re-arranged a little, in order to give me my text.

We find that, taking the Western Provinces of Canada, there has been a very considerable increase in the population during the past decade. In Alberta, there are now 374,663, and of these over 301,000 have come in during the past decade. Now I find that in the cities, such as Calgary, Lethbridge, Edmonton, Medicine Hat, and Strathcona, some 75,000 odd have come in within the decade. But there are, as you know, hundreds of towns which have sprung up from nothing during that time, and that accounts for a very considerable amount of the population.

The same is true of the Province of Saskatchewan, which has increased from 400 to 492,000—that is an increase within the decade of over 400,000, and 56,500 of them are in the four cities of Moosejaw, Prince Albert, Regina, and Saskatoon.

British Columbia has increased 213,000 out of 392,000, but in the delta of the Fraser—which includes Vancouver and New Westminster—considerably more than half of that increase is accounted for, that is to say, 116,000 out of 213,000 increase, showing that the increase of the rest of the Province has been

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very moderate—and that is the significant feature in connection with the social and economic situation out there. Victoria itself accounts for another 10,500 of the increase.

Manitoba is perhaps from the point of view that I am discussing to-day the most interesting of all, because these Western Provinces, with their prairies, have a great deal of land to be taken up and cultivated, and Manitoba is significant as half-way house between Eastern and Western Canada, and is an indication of the trend in Western Canada, once the land is taken up. Manitoba has increased 200,000, but in Winnipeg and its suburbs more than half of that is accounted for; the other 100,000 is spread over the whole of the Province, and the greater part in the newer regions that have been opened up. In fact, you find several districts in the south, the older settlements, which have gone back, and notwithstanding the fact that in some of these there is a good deal of unoccupied or uncultivated land.

Take one of the finest towns in the West for location, markets, and railroad facilities, Portage la Prairie. That town has increased less than 2,000 during the decade. Brandon, which is quite a centre, has increased only 8,000.

In Ontario the present population is in round numbers 2,523,000, an increase of only 340,000 in the decade, and in Toronto alone 164,000 of them is accounted for. In fact, if you take as well a few of the leading towns of Northern Ontario, in the districts of Algoma and Nipissing, you have accounted for more than the increase. That means that many rural districts in Ontario have gone back in population during that time, and a good many of the smaller towns. There are only three cities that have really progressed to any extent—Toronto, Hamilton, and Ottawa. Belleville, Kingston, and places like that have nearly stood still, or gone back.

In Quebec we have also a significant social and economic condition. The population is two millions, an increase of 353,000, and Montreal and its suburbs account for 194,000 of these.

Then in the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia we have a very slight increase. New Brunswick now has 351,000, an increase of only 20,769, four thousand of which are

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accounted for by St. John and Moncton. Moncton is the town that has most gone ahead. St. John has increased only 1,800. Some towns have gone back, and some new districts account for the rest of the increase.

Nova Scotia has 492,000, an increase of 32,764, but that increase is accounted for by the mining districts of Sydney Mines and Springhill, and the manufacturing town of Amherst. This has an increase of 4,000, and Halifax an increase of 5,000, and the Cape Breton district has increased 25,000, yet Nova Scotia as a whole has only increased 32,000. Prince Edward Island has gone back 9,500, because it has no urban centres.

What is the explanation of this in a new and growing and vigorous country such as ours, this slow increase of the population in the rural districts, and the enormous increase in the cities—not in the towns, but in the cities—and of the transition which is going on in a Province such as Manitoba, which may be taken as indicative of the future of the others?

Now let me remind you that we are dealing with a human problem more than with an economic problem. Humanly speaking, as human beings, as biological specimens, we all started in the country. There were no towns originally, although all primitive men lived in communities. We have made two movements in the history of humanity. One of these is more particularly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon and Norse element, namely the movement from the village community to a condition of disintegration—of generations of individual families living on a farm and cultivating that—which is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon more than of anybody else, because in other countries the people live in communities. The other movement is the movement to cities, which are not communities.

Now the great question which we have to face, and which so many people are discussing is, are these movements to be reversed? And if they are reversed, will it mean an economic and productive revolution? And have we to go back instead of forward in our industrial civilization?

It is quite obvious that the problem we have to deal with is not the problem of depopulating the city. The back to the land idea is not necessarily the solution. But some other solution must be sought. Taking our own history, I find that this

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movement to the town was coincident with the establishment of a stable form of government and peaceful administration. After the Wars of the Roses, and the settlement of the English into a definite national existence under the Tudors, there was a very remarkable growth of cities and towns, and notably of London. And London grew to such an extent that an Act was passed at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to stop its growth. It was described as a great wen on the national existence, and the act prohibited the erection of new buildings. Any erected without special permission were to be torn down, and as a matter of fact some were. This London had grown to such an extent that it was appalling the nation at large. Anybody who knows London will realize that they were alarmed over a very little—and it is growing faster now than ever.

That is a condition of general application—for this reason. When you come to look into it, you find that the simple supplies for the elementary wants, the primary wants, could be produced on the estates in the country districts, and there was a combination of manufacturing—that is, hand-working—with the cultivation of a little land, many working at loom or anvil or bench a part of the time, and sometimes in the garden, and so on—a combination of manufacturing and agricultural pursuits. But the introduction of the machine destroyed all that. The development of the steam engine, of water power and machine production, concentrated the interest of the population in centres where these things could be worked. The consequence was that specialization came in. People had to decide whether they would devote themselves entirely to agriculture or to their shops, and that which is known in England as "the Industrial Revolution" certainly upset everything. It led to the enclosure of estates, the dividing up of common lands, the concentrating of the people in the North, where coal and water power were furnished. The country people became specialized. They narrowed the supply of their wants. The city people began to do more and more for the country people, and as the wants of people increased, everything reflected itself in the city rather than in the country.

Then the opportunities for coming to the front for ambitious

young men were much greater in the city than in the country.

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We have scores of examples in Canada of young men who have left the farm and made a great success in city life.

Now that is a movement, which all along has developed along these lines because it could not be reversed. And you find that we are producing as much as ever—more than ever in many lines—although there has been within the past few years a movement that has carried this to excess, and resulted in some portions of the country not producing as much as it used to do in proportion, notable in the newer sections. But the idea that you can keep people on the land by persuading them to stay there is not true, because under the new conditions, a piece of land, cultivated in a proper way, requires fewer and fewer people. In the West, if you were to raise wheat off a given area by the methods of the 18th century, you would require ten or a dozen people for a hundred acres—and if you followed the method of the earlier part of the 18th century, you would want 40 or 50. What is the method now? It is not exactly that less work is required, but that the work is done in a different place. The men in the Massey-Harris shops and the shops of the International Harvester Company; the men who are manufacturing ploughs, and reapers and threshers, the men who are working on the railroads—these are the people who after all are doing a lot of the work of the North-West. Go to a typical North-West farm, and you will find that generally the people there do not produce one grain for themselves. They don't work up a single grain of wheat; they export all they produce and import flour and everything else. Their exports are re-imported. That is characteristic of enormous areas of the North-West. The man on the land has his machinery sent to him from the cities, and he simply rides it around. That is all. And when he gets through he goes off for the winter to some warmer clime. That is the extreme of the situation.

It fell to my lot to be asked by Mr. Foster to go on a commission he appointed this summer to look into this question, and it was arranged that I should question the people of the West, while the Chairman, Mr. Grigg, should go to the East. I had an opportunity of discussing this question with agricultural people, agricultural implement makers, bankers, and it all came to that.

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I had an opportunity of talking to Mr. Gordon, of Gordon, Ironsides and Faires, the big meat packers. He said: "The thing is getting worse and worse. We used to export a lot of cattle and meat. Now we are importing. The consequence is a higher price for meat for Canadians than ever, and there is no prospect of an end to it." That is partly due to the breaking up of the ranching lands in the West—often where they need not have been broken up, because there was plenty of land left for grain.

In Ontario we find that our farmers, where we had mixed farms, are either more and more specializing themselves—going in for fruit, vegetables, or dairying or grain alone—or they are giving up the production they used to undertake, and when you ask them why, they give various reasons, some of them very good. Some said that their wives and daughters used to milk the cows, and look after the chickens and so on, and they got tired of that. They did not feel that they should do that sort of thing any more, especially as the farm produced enough in a specialized line to give them a good living. They admit that the price they were getting was considerably higher than it used to be, but it was not sufficiently high to induce them to go on with it.

Secondly, and perhaps more important, the price of farm labor, and above all the character of farm labor, is prohibitory. That is, you have got actually to pay people higher rates to go out of the cities and work on the farm than they take in the cities. And, of course, the hours are unfortunate, as you cannot adapt farm hours to the hours of the factory. Moreover, the people who do come out of the cities on to the land are not at all the best workers. They are as a rule unsuccessful, troublesome, lazy, and ignorant. These are among the objectionable features of farm labor, and unless you have a system to keep the men all the year round, you cannot expect men to come on at one particular season and go off at another. The one great barrier to the western situation is the harvesting. They have not got harvesting down to the simplicity that they have ploughing, sowing, and so on, because for harvesting they require help suddenly for a short while.

There is a situation which, in addition to the concentration which is normal, has contributed to the movement from the

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country to the city. Then there is the difficulty of getting the producer in touch with the consumer. When you consider what these people are paid for milk, butter, and eggs, in the country districts, and what you people have to pay for them when they come to your table, you will see that the gap is enormous. It looks terribly high to us who have to pay for them. It looks very low at the other end. They say, "We spend all the summer raising these things, and they leave us at a certain price, and are sold for twice that, or three times. These people who handle our things spend a few hours or a few days at it, and get as much as we, who have spent the whole summer raising them. We will go into the city, and see if we cannot get rich quick as well as they."

Then there is the opportunity for young men. In this restless age, this wave of speculation, there is the constant exhibition for country people of rich men in automobiles touring through the country and frightening their cattle. These rich men, many of them, have been on the farm themselves, and the country people think that if this is the rate at which you can get back to the country after you have been in town for a while, then they would like a little of that, too, and they come into the city.

There is, too, a wave of optimism. You cannot find, I suppose, an ordinary human being between Winnipeg and the coast who has lost money within the last few years, because everything they have tackled has gone up in the interval, and the people are getting the idea that it has gone up not because of a great national development that is filling up the West, but because of great personal qualities, wonderful financial abilities. The situation is optimistic, and because of it people get the speculative fever. It means a draft of people from the East to the West as well as from the country to the city. What I want to point out is the difference between the normal and natural movement of the people from the country to the city, and this more or less abnormal, spasmodic movement going on owing to the very rapid development in Canada. I want to separate these because one is normal and will continue, and the other will die out with the close out of the speculative wave. That speculative wave has no necessary connection with the general prosperity

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of Canada. Take Portage la Prairie, and places like Calgary or Saskatoon, or Edmonton, or any of these places. Portage la Prairie has greater facilities than any of these places. It is in the district of Portage Plains, which is unmatched anywhere in the West for size, fertility and capacity. It has access and nearness to markets, which means that the people get from three to six and even ten cents more for their wheat than in the out-lying districts. And Portage la Prairie goes through ten of the most prosperous years Canada ever saw, and has increased in population two thousand when other places have been going up at an enormous rate. As a matter of fact, it has even been shrinking in size, for many of the farms which at the outset were sub-divided are now growing very good grain as farm crops, just as sub-divided farms around Winnipeg and other places will.

What does this mean? It means that the increase of Portage la Prairie has been normal, natural. It means that Portage la Prairie as an economic centre has been discharging all the functions it can for the country in the neighborhood, and that illustrates the difference between discharging its natural functions separated from the speculative feature of selling town lots and booming. These other places will come to the condition of Portage la Prairie, and will stay there only on one condition. Like Portage la Prairie, they will develop only on one account, and that is getting new industries as well as serving the needs of the local district. So we want to distinguish between the speculative fever which will die and the permanent condition of prosperity which will remain.

I believe we are not going to get the people back to the country on an ordinary basis; that we are facing a situation which, the more highly specialized and developed it becomes, will increase rather than decrease the proportion of population in the cities as compared with the country.

What is the remedy? The great problem of Canada, as of other progressive countries, is the city. And in Montreal you have it in as grave a condition as anywhere in Canada. You cannot expect the city of Montreal to stop growing if its industries keep growing. You cannot expect that the people will leave Montreal to go into the country. They may be forced

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back for a limited time into the country, but that will be an abnormal condition. It is useless to compare the attractions of the city with the attractions of the country. The attractions of the country have been written up for the last two centuries, and they have convinced nobody. To preach the attractions of the country is like everybody desiring that virtue shall prevail in his neighbour's house, but wanting a certain latitude in his own. He preaches back to the country, but he does not go back himself till he has made his pile and can hire somebody to do his fancy farming for him.

In this Province of Quebec you have a larger population that is willing to stay on the land in proportion to the other provinces, but if one must tell the truth a good deal of that population stays on the land because it has never been infused to a sufficiently high point about city life and mercantile pursuits. It is just content to go on with the agricultural pursuits in the old way. The trouble is that if you introduce scientific agriculture, you may cause discontent and cause the people to leave the farm. In Ontario the situation just narrows down to that. I know some prosperous people there who have made fortunes off the land, but have done so by applying the same methods as a successful man does to his factory. That is where science can help farmers, but it will not increase the population of the country to a great extent, because crops can be grown in larger quantity on a smaller outlay of labor where machines and scientific methods are used.

The problem is to extend this scientific method of production to a larger and larger extent to country products, and to deal with the city problem, city houses and areas, in such a way that you can redeem life for the city man. It was transportation more than anything else which made possible our great cities.

Now it is transportation which must aid in solving the problem, and here again is a point in which many experiments are being performed, and I think very profitable and fruitful ones—that is, in transporting your workmen, whose hours of labor are shortened, and pay increased, far enough into the country for them to get back on to the land on which they can devote some of their spare time. One of the most serious problems to my mind is shortening the hours of labor, and taking no systematic

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pains as to how these extra hours of freedom shall be spent. That, with the added facilities for spending, leads to all kinds of destruction. Now these people, liberated from their factories and shops, should spend the rest of their time in the open air, and to a certain extent some amusements could be introduced for that purpose, but there is not any interest or pursuit so varied, attractive and interesting as a little nature study, or getting back to nature. Yet you have to develop that by giving it as a supplement to city life. The solution is to spread the city over a larger and larger area, on condition that the work people and professional men can get in to work on time and get away on time. There is one way in which the cost of living will be mitigated, because these people can produce a part of what they require and some a surplus for sale, which will interest their families in raising it. That is one of the prime factors in solving this problem.

I have tried to bring out the great fact as to the condition Canada is in—and Canada with any amount of new land—situation which is normal and inevitable; and then to the possibility of attracting the attention of philanthropists and good business men and other people to the remedy. And the remedy is not to depopulate the cities and drive the people into farming, but to depopulate them in the sense of spreading them over a larger and larger area and making it possible to get back to that combination in which we Anglo-Saxons lived from the middle to the end of the 18th century.

[December 2, 1912.]

SUBJECT:

THE WORK OF THE INSTITUTION IN THE REFORMATION OF DELINQUENT BOYS.

DR. W. R. GEORGE,
of the George Junior Republic.

GENTLEMEN, I am very anxious to have you know all about the Junior Republic before I leave. I am going to try an experiment. It is to give you a little outline of the Junior Republic, and then to give you an opportunity of asking questions on the subject, for it is a most interesting subject. It does not simply mean that over there in New York State and a few other places there is a group of boys and girls who are carrying out a unique idea of government, for this thing has evolved from a little institution of a reformatory nature to an educational principle.

The Junior Republic is the simplest thing imaginable. It is so simple that it makes me feel like a faker to think that anything like fame should have been accomplished by something so dead easy. There is really nothing to it, and yet there is a whole lot to it. The Junior Republic is nothing more or less than a village, just the same as any village here in the Dominion, or in the States, excepting this one principle—the fact that the citizens vote when they are 16 instead of 21.

You see you have to eliminate from your mind any idea of a school or institution, because it does not resemble this in the slightest degree. The only thing you can liken it to is to a village the same as any other village, except for the fact that its citizens vote, and have full responsibility for self-support, for the acquirement of property, and for everything that you have in Montreal or in any other place. People go to see the Junior Republic, and they will pass right through it without seeing it at all. Then

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when they are some miles away they will ask, "Where is the Junior Republic," and the reply will be, "You have just passed through it. That village is it." They expect to see something with walls to it, or if not with walls, at least something very like an institution. On the other hand, strangers not looking for the Republic will come visiting, and say "Is this Dryden?" (the nearest town in that direction). "No," comes the reply, "Dryden is two and a half miles further on. You are in the Junior Republic."

The only thing you will note about the Junior Republic is that it is made up of a large percentage of husky young fellows and pretty girls. They are the ones who are doing the business in that place.

I could talk for about two weeks in picturing that village to your minds. But I won't do that. There are just cottages of different sizes and shapes. Each has a nice motherly lady in charge. Matron? No. A combination of good mother and good boarding-house keeper. She bosses that house, and makes any rule she pleases just exactly as if she were running a boarding-house in Montreal. The boarders are composed of a family of 8 or 10 boys or girls, or in some cases boys and girls. The cottage is simply furnished; simple fare—principally soup. It doesn't cost much to live there. If boarders don't like it, they get out. If she don't like the boarders she tells them to get out.

The next cottage has lots of mission furniture, is steam heated, rugs on the floor, piano, plenty of pie and cake for dessert. It costs more for board there. It means more industry and more cash to live in a finer cottage.

So with the work shop: the man in charge of the shop is a combination of good teacher and good business man. Instead of running his shop on the school system, he runs it as a place of business. He pays the boys whom he employs for their work—pays them for the grade of work they perform. Take as an illustration, the carpentry shop, manufacturing mission furniture. Those who do fine work get the pay of a skilled workman. Those who do average work, average pay. Those who do poor work get the bounce, just the same as outside. A boy may do good work in that shop, and conclude that he would like to be a boss. If so, he starts in with what capital he has: he may borrow. The shop is all his own. He employs more boys to help him. There is

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no objection to that whatever. The citizens may either work for an adult or for another boy or girl as the case may be.

A little illustration will show the extremes of society represented in the Junior Republic. A few years ago a prominent labor agitator had a son there. He was himself an extreme socialist, almost bordering on anarchy. He was hoping for the day when everything would be divided up and taught it to the boy. The boy got into trouble with the village outside. His smoking was a minor offence; his swearing a minor offence. But when it came to stealing, something had to be done with him. He was sent to the Junior Republic. He learnt there was a law in the Junior Republic, and didn't approve of it. He didn't approve of the Stars and Stripes and got a drubbing. It was an interesting incident. We were delighted to referee it.

Later this boy became very industrious, saved money and put it in the bank. One day he concluded it would be a great scheme to contract to dig a cellar, secured teams and employed boys to aid him in the work. The terms of the contract declared that the cellar must be completed by a certain date; if not, he would forfeit a certain sum of money each day. Everything went well till the day before the work was completed, and the work would have been completed if his workmen had not gone on strike. He went out and took off his coat and dug all that night to see if he could not finish it in time, but he could not. He had to forfeit a sum of money. He was mad and rushed around invoking the aid of the police to arrest every man who had struck, particularly the leader of the strike. He ransacked the Civil Procedure to see if he could not bring an action against the strikers. He just needed the law; he discovered he wanted it at that time. The man who led the strikers was the son of a wealthy manufacturer outside. He also was a citizen of the Junior Republic.

My friend in the city, the labor agitator, wanted to see his son. We sent the son home to see his father. Then I had a letter from the father saying he wished to see me the next time I was in New York. I saw him. He said, "My son has returned to me. He does not swear or smoke or steal. He is every inch a gentleman. You have done a great work for him along the moral line, but I would have preferred to have him come home in his coffin, for the reason that the teachings I put into him when

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he was a boy have been lost completely. He comes home, and when I invite my friends in of an evening to talk over the day when we will divide up everything, that boy begins to tell about the strike he had at the Junior Republic. I didn't know whether to send him back or not, but after thinking it all over I have concluded that his moral welfare is of the greater importance, and I am going to send him back."

The son of the large manufacturer went to his home after a time. The father said afterwards it had been worth all kinds of money to have had Jimmy in the Junior Republic, because Jimmy associated with him in his business, and when the father had any kind of trouble with the employees, he sent him to talk to them and tell them about when he was a strike leader himself. And he fixed things up beautifully.

But let us return to the village. The boys there earn their money in these various ways. The girls do laundry work, dress-making and house-keeping. All have the advantage of a splendid school, where it is possible for them to secure preparation for college. Some go to Yale, Harvard and other places. Others go to work on farms and in shops. Many go into business for themselves.

In the Republic is a store. All the supplies are sent there. But it does not resemble an institution store at all. Here everything is on sale, and the citizens can go there and buy things just exactly as they can go into an ordinary store—if they have the money. If they have not got the money, they can watch those who have while they buy things.

If a boy wishes to go into business as a store-keeper, he may purchase his supplies wholesale and start a rival store. That has been done over and over again.

The unique thing is the government. The laws of New York State are the laws of the Junior Republic, plus the laws enacted by the citizens themselves in town meeting assembled. When any problem arises they go to the Statutes and look it up. If they cannot find it, they make a law to suit themselves. They get the idea of citizenship in a hurry, and know what it means. We vote for a man on election day. If our man gets into Legislature or Parliament, we have to wait and wait for him to do something, and perhaps he doesn't do it after all. We forget what we sent him there for, and he forgets, and so it goes.

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In the Junior Republic, in their town meeting they get an idea that they want a change of some sort. It may affect the economic conditions of the Republic, or the moral conditions. Whatever it may be, they draft a bill, discuss it in town meeting assembled, and then if it is passed, the President puts his signature to it the same night, and next morning it is put into operation, and you bet they know what the power of citizenship means, because somebody is benefited or somebody is pinched.

And it is mighty interesting. For instance, the question as to whether girls should be allowed to vote was a very serious question for years. When a Republic is started in a State where women have the right to vote, the girls vote at once, but if women have not the vote in the State, then in order to give girls the right to vote a special clause has to be passed by the boys. I tell you there were some great discussions, and the very same points pro and con were brought up as in the women's suffrage question outside. Finally the boys voted in favor of the girls being given the privilege of voting, and it became a part of the Constitution. Since that time girls have voted in the Junior Republic and have been eligible to hold office. We have never had a girl president, but we have had girl vice-presidents on several occasions. We have one now. It is the duty of the vice-president to preside at the town meetings. It takes a good parliamentarian to do that, but every time we have had a girl presiding she has risen to the occasion. When she brings the gavel down there is order, particularly as, if there is no order, she can tell the nearest cop to take the offender to jail.

A few weeks ago a girl who was presiding called for order. Three or four fellows were discussing a bill, and were so excited that they did not notice the gavel. She rapped again. They paid no attention. Somebody nudged them, and they said "Yes," and proceeded with their discussion. She said, "Gentlemen, come to order." They did not come to order. She said, "Officer, take them to jail." And he took them. About half an hour after that I went over to the jail. There they were in the cell together. As I went in I noticed they were discussing some question, and one of them was writing. I asked what they were doing, and they said, "Writing out a repeal of Women's Suffrage." But they never got to the town meeting with it.

Oh, yes, they enforce the town laws. Jail? You bet there

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is, and no play about it, either. And officers? You can wager there are officers. People say sometimes, "Suppose a prisoner will not go to jail." Leave that to the "cop." Use force? You bet they use force if necessary. If a boy goes to jail he stays there till the trial, unless he can get bail. He may be popular with the citizens, but if they have any idea that he is likely to run away, there is great difficulty in getting them to risk their hard cash on him. If they have confidence in him then there is no trouble in getting bail.

The case comes on, and proceeds in the usual form. The District Attorney prosecutes people. The prisoner tries to get a good counsel, if he has money enough—good counsel come high. If he has not got the money, then he has to content himself with someone whom the State provides. At any rate, he has the privilege of an attorney to defend him. A jury is empanelled. A boy judge presides. Witnesses are called. If you were blind-folded you would not know but what you were in a court outside. If the prisoner is found guilty he is sentenced and put in charge of a boy officer. He has to don the prison stripes and is locked up in the jail for the night. The next day he digs ditches for the Government. He gets all the jail he wants, and the fun of it is the boys do it all.

The reason that boys do bad things—is it because they are criminals? No. It is because they are heroes with the other boys. We talk about a whole lot of reasons for boys being bad—bad housing conditions, bad influences at home, and so on—all true, but not the full truth. I will tell you the secret. The reason that boys do dare-devil things is because they become the heroes of almost all the boys all over the country. There is a sort of freemasonry among boys. They have no responsibility. I believe with all my heart that one of the principal defects in our national life to-day is the fact that responsibility is not given to youth early enough. When a group of people have no responsibility they are absolutely indifferent. You gentlemen here feel a responsibility for your city, but if the entire mass here were suddenly transported to New York City you would not feel any great amount of responsibility for what went on there. And if you were away over in Germany you would not feel any great responsibility there. You might go out and do up the town, some of you. And if some of you were arrested

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and locked up, the rest would run around and get bail and sympathize with you, because you were a group of Americans together. That is the reasons boys do dare-devil things.

One of the most absurd things is to regard a youth of from 16 to 21 as an infant. You can pick out your biggest and strongest policeman here, and I will go to your High School, and I will wager you can find in that High School some fellow who can trim that policeman in a physical contest. You men here would not wish to risk a physical contest with a group from the High School, would you?

Then take the mental side. The average youth in the High School knows more about government than the average man. We are exceptions, of course; I refer to our neighbors. There is a certain class of men who grow narrower as they grow older. They get into a rut and their point of view becomes contracted, and they let the political boss manipulate them. Their sons in the High School won't stand for anything of that kind. I will wager that if you go back to the time of your youth you will find that your point of view of things of national importance was as clear as it is to-day, and you did not have so many blooming conventions hanging around you. You were freer. Yet we call these youths infants, though physically they are able to do men's work, and mentally, too, very often.

When a war strikes the country, then you find it is these infants who flock to the standard. Over on the other side of the line the nation was saved not by the men but by the boys. Look at the records of Washington, and you will find that only a comparatively small percentage of the soldiers were above 21, not only the rank and file, but the officers. When an emergency arose that demanded quick, keen judgment, a boy was there to rise to the emergency. Yet, when the boys were restored to civil life, they were relegated to infancy. That is why boys raise Cain. Pa fed them and perhaps gave them their clothing and they had no responsibility. If they belonged to a gang and had poor parents, society fed them. Under such circumstances many become dare-devil boy heroes.

How can you change that? Just introduce a medium of exchange. Just pay them for their work. In turn, require them to pay for everything they receive, on the principle that extra money will purchase extra luxuries. Let that exchange

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circulate. What happens? Some will steal from others. Then those working will say, "What an outrage. We have crooks here. Let us 'jug' them." The result is that if a boy goes into one of our boy republics and tells about the terrible things he has done, it is the same as if a man were to come among you and say, "Gentlemen, I am a pickpocket."

When a boy comes to the Junior Republic and is arrested by a boy cop, and tried by boys, and sent to jail by boys, it takes all the romance out of wrong doing in a hurry. It is just simply a question of responsibility. I believe with all my heart that if actual police power were placed in the hands of youth to regulate youth, you would see some changes in a hurry. If a boy police officer of about 18 had power to arrest boy offenders under 21 he would do it with a vengeance. Take the street gangs in New York. They are the toughest in the world. But if you were to put one of its members on the police force he would chase the gang all around the block. They will either fight for law and order, or against it.

Suppose trouble arose in this city, and the local police officials could not handle it. Troops would be called out, and martial law would be declared. Among these troops would be plenty of lads of 18 or 19 years of age, and they would come in here and do things the policemen could not do. You would not think it strange to find them soldiers.

Now you may ask what kind of boys go to the Junior Republic. When I started I had poor boys and poor girls. Out of that group of poor boys, many of whom were inclined to deviltry, I had the best citizens, after they had gone through the mill. The leaders for badness became the leaders for goodness. I made general badness a special qualification for admittance. The people in the reformatories did not like the scheme. They said, "We will send something that will bother George all right." They thought they could fix me all right, but they did not count on the boys.

Then we began to get applications from good homes. Finally we did not see why the rich man's son should not be sent to us the same as the poor man's, so we said to rich men who wanted their sons to enter, "Send them along, but pay the bill." So in some cases we have papa to foot the bill. We have a sliding scale. We say to the rich man, "Give a handsome subscription

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to the Junior Republic if you see fit, and we will guarantee to straighten your boy out." Father says he is willing, and sends his boy along. But bless you, father's cash don't do the boy any good when he comes in. If he were to pay a thousand dollars a minute, his boy would not get a mouthful of grub till he hustled for it. A boy from poor parentage will get busy and find a job right away. The son of the millionaire may look around and say he has never worked in his life, and now he finds he has arrived at an age when he is too heavy for light work and too light for heavy work, so he concludes he will not work at all. This kind of boy, although he considers work an outrage, would not hesitate to beg like a common tramp. So perhaps he goes to some cottage asking for a hand-out, and then the cop gets him, and the judge sends him up for vagrancy, and then he has to work. When he gets out he does not hesitate to go to work again, and he may get quite rich in the Junior Republic.

When a boy comes to the Junior Republic he can go to college, and get to be a professor or business man, if he chooses. People regard the Junior Republic as a sort of Reform School. It so happens that I get boys there who have done nothing bad at all. They get to work, and have the same advantages of opportunity in that community as you have here, and they are benefited by it, and often develop beyond the boys and girls who do not have the opportunity of going to the Republic at all.

Another question. The boys, as I say, would at that period when they come to us, go to college. Now it so happened that everybody was kind to ex-students of the Junior Republic. No matter what a boy had done outside, if he went to the Junior Republic it was regarded as clearing up everything. But the boys did not like the idea of being regarded as brands snatched from the burning. They didn't like to have Jones say to Smith, "That boy is from the Junior Republic," whereupon Smith would say to Jones, "Is that so? I wonder what bank he robbed, or whom he held up?" There was one thing to do, and one only, and that was to frankly recognize that the Republic was good for all kinds of boys and girls, good and bad. So we took the next step, which was to throw down the barriers and open it to all kinds of boys and girls who had lost ginger and initiative. So we declared we did not care whether the citizens came from the city or from the country, whether they came from a home

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wealthy or poor, or from no home at all, whether they were from good or bad parentage, so long as he was very, very something. Thus the Junior Republic has evolved from a reformatory principle to an educational principle. We believe, from our experience, that it is good for all kinds of boys and girls. Now the movement is growing all over the country. It is planned to form such communities in every State of the Union, and in every country. Next year it will be started in England. It will not necessarily be a republic there, but something conforming to the government of the country in which it is located. When I go back, I am going to confer with a Hindu, with a view to starting the movement in India, and with a Chinaman, with a view to starting it in China.

The secret is to place responsibility upon young people at an earlier age in a community by themselves. I don't wish to go on record as being in favor of putting back the voting age to 16, though I don't think it would do any harm—certainly not at 18, but we should try to make real life a responsible thing for the boys. Now I should be pleased to answer any questions.

Question: How do you prevent the boys and girls from leaving when they wish to?

Answer: The great bulk leave at any time they desire. Even when a boy is sent to us from the courts he may get to that stage when you tell him he may go if he wishes to, but often he will not wish to. But if he runs away, the boy officers go after him, and bring him back and put him in jail.

Q.—Is the work self-supporting?

A.—No, because the great majority go to school. The cost per boy is probably about \$450 a year. Pretty high, I admit. They would cost less if we did not give them the education we do and the opportunity of learning trades.

Q.—Is there any particular age for them to leave?

A.—They must leave when they are 21. Then they become citizens of the big Republic.

Q.—Is there any age limit for admittance?

A.—We don't like to have them before they are 16, but if they are a good size, we take them at 14.

Q.—What trades are they taught?

A.—Carpentry, printing, plumbing, laundry work, millinery, farming, and so on. And here let me say I want to congratulate

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you on your Boys' Farm at Shawbridge. You are doing splendid work there.

Q.—Have you a big farm for the boys?

A.—We have about 5 acres, owned and controlled.

Q.—Where do you recruit from?

A.—From all kinds, classes and conditions. Any teacher in the Republic is a citizen of it. Children helpers are citizens. Volunteers who come in to get education are citizens. Boys and girls are sometimes sent by parents for educational advantages that we offer. Others are sent for the additional straightening out process till they are 21. We may keep them or not. Sentence on them is suspended on condition that they are good in the Republic. Others are actually sentenced to come to us. Others are sent from reformatories to test the idea.

Q.—How do you prevent trouble among the boys and girls?

A.—The same as outside. We have trouble sometimes. You have it in a Sunday School or any other place to a certain extent. But it is not so apt to happen with us, for the reason of the responsibility on all the citizens. In the Junior Republic it is up to them to see that things go right. And do they rise to the emergency? I guess they do, for things sometimes regarded as a joke means a year in prison in the Republic. Obscene talk means sentence to jail for two weeks or two months.

Q.—How about going to church?

A.—Well, Church and State are separate. In the Republic you can go to church or not, as you see fit. Nobody is bound to go to church, excepting the prisoners. But over 90 per cent. of the citizens of the Junior Republic attend services each Sunday. All the Catholics go to the Protestant services, and the Protestants to the Catholics', and when the Jewish Rabbi comes, all go to the Jewish service. Each is true to his own religion, but respects that of the other fellow.

Q.—What amusements are there?

A.—Bless you, you ought to see the football and baseball teams, and then the parties we have. When anybody has a birthday it means a party. The boys invite their best girls, and with the chaperon they go to the party. Our annual inauguration ball is a great event. The girls are getting their gowns ready for that now.

Q.—Do you have moving pictures?

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A.—Not yet.

Q.—How is the cost defrayed?

A.—By subscriptions.

Q.—Have you to send any away as incorrigibles?

A.—No, we never send a fellow away because we cannot straighten him out. It is a hard case that the boys cannot straighten out.

Q.—Do boys ever run away?

A.—Yes, sometimes at the beginning they do. Afterwards they only run away because they have taken somebody's else cash, because they would be running away from their own property if they went for any other cause.

Q.—How many Republics are there?

A.—About eight at the present time.

Q.—Do you have any difficulty in starting them?

A.—My difficulty is not with the boys, or with the principle of the thing. My difficulty is with the grown ups. When you get a board of trustees you have to train them the same as children. They want a boss.

Q.—How is the deficit met?

A.—In volunteer contributions and payments for board.

Q.—Do you use the national currency?

A.—We use aluminum coin, and that is current in the Junior Republic. It is redeemable in the bank for United States currency.

[January 7th, 1913]

A SUMMER TRIP IN AUSTRALIA.

PRINCIPAL GORDON.
of Queen's University, Kingston.

WE Canadians are taking a growing interest in our Australasian cousins, and they are certainly becoming more deeply interested in Canada; many of them visit Canada either going to, or returning from England. We have many features in common; we are part of the same empire, acknowledging the same Sovereign, and floating the same flag, sharing similar history in the development of our democratic institutions, dealing with much the same problems of immigration, of transportation and of development of the resources of a vast territory.

Each decade has been bringing the two continents into closer relations, increasing the intercourse of travel and of commerce, and deepening the attachment that is felt by each towards Mother Britain. As yet, indeed, there is much prevalent ignorance among Canadians and Australians regarding each other. Both countries contribute to keep up the Pacific cable that links them together, and yet the press of each country receives little information regarding the other, so that unless it be for private and personal reasons, we are usually content to remain ignorant of each other's welfare. Although closely related by history and tradition as members of the same stock, the wide separation of the sea leads us to look upon each other as distant relatives.

With present facilities of travel, however, it has become possible for us to make a delightful summer holiday trip of a visit to Australia. An excellent line of steamers connects Vancouver and Sydney by way of Honolulu, Fiji and New

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Zealand. If one takes the round trip in the same steamer, it requires three weeks each way and allows a stay of three weeks in Australia. The boats are not quite as large as the Atlantic liners, but some of them are quite as comfortable, and the increasing traffic is calling for an increased steamship accommodation.

After leaving Vancouver and Victoria—the five-hour trip between these ports being one of the most delightful on our Canadian coast, the first halt is at Honolulu in the Hawaiian Islands, a run of about 2,300 miles. The first day or two may be a little rough, but very soon the great ocean becomes as pacific as its name implies. The temperature becomes more delightful and one lingers on deck with a sense of lazy contentment that may be heightened by some pleasant book and occasionally disturbed by some of the familiar deck games on ocean steamships, or by the bugle call to meals. Of course, in a voyage of three weeks, passengers become much more intimate and more closely shaken together than in the trip across the Atlantic, and there are usually some bright and active spirits to take the lead in arranging various entertainments for afternoon and evening, so that one never suffers from weariness, and at the close of the journey could wish that it were still to be indefinitely prolonged.

It is a delightful surprise to the traveller to be landed at Honolulu, especially if he has not been somehow made familiar with what he may expect to find there. The scene of the Hawaiian Islands is a surprise to him; the lofty hills with their clear outlines against the sky remind one frequently of the West of Scotland. The city is beautifully situated, and sufficient wealth has been accumulated by the citizens to enable them to provide themselves with very comfortable, and in some cases, luxurious homes. The rich tropical vegetation is under the control of refined American taste. The drives in the neighbourhood are singularly attractive, so that one could spend most pleasantly the whole day during which we halted here on our way. Most of us have long been aware that the first white settlement in the Hawaiian Islands was in connection with the work of Christian missions. Two natives had gone to Boston on board a trading vessel and had found their way to New Haven, where they were discovered on the steps of Yale College in a most

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disconsolate condition. The students who first met them were led to take a deep interest in their welfare, and later on to establish a mission through whose efforts mainly the christianization of the Islands was effected. It was a pleasure to me to meet the grandson of one of those early missionaries, who, like his father as well as his grandfather, was a graduate of Yale, and who last year travelled all the way from Honolulu to Yale to be present at a class reunion. The early mission school has grown into a large and well conducted institute whose efficiency may be judged by the fact that one of its pupils recently stood highest in the matriculation at Yale. The city has a museum which is, so far as I am aware, the best in any of the islands of the Pacific, built and endowed as a memorial to the late Mrs. Bishop, and containing a singularly complete and most valuable collection of articles illustrative of life in Hawaii and of practices long prevalent in many Polynesian Islands. These relics when compared with those to be found in the museums of Australia and New Zealand show that the native Hawaiian excelled the other Polynesian or Melanesian tribes in various arts, especially in the arts of weaving and wood carving.

In addition to the museum, the aquarium is particularly well worthy of a visit. Here may be seen specimens of fish more marvellously colored than any that I have seen or heard of elsewhere. The exquisite tints on the scales of some of these fish look like the plumage of beautiful birds, and instead of being hard and glassy on the surface, they appear soft and velvety. The varying shapes too, as well as the colors of these tropical fishes, are very remarkable; indeed, it is with difficulty that one tears himself away from the study of these specimens, and it is surprising to find a number of these same varieties of fish offered on sale in the city fish market.

So far as regards the commerce of the Islands, sugar is the main source of wealth, and the sugar mills here have been very prosperous. There is also a very large business done in fruit, especially in pine-apple; the largest fruit cannery in the world being here, devoted exclusively to the canning of pine-apples.

One has only to stroll through the city to recognize the mixed and cosmopolitan character of the population. The natives are strong, well-built, but not reliable for steady labor. The labor

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market is supplied chiefly by Japanese, there being some 75,000 of them in the Islands. The Chinese also are found here, as in every other place on the Pacific, where they are allowed to remain. Of the earlier white races, the Portuguese seem to have left perhaps the deepest notch on the community, tanned as they are by long residence to a resemblance of the natives. Americans, Englishmen, Germans, Asiatics, natives, half-castes of all varieties rub shoulders in Honolulu.

The place is being well fortified; Diamond Hill, a few miles east of the harbor affording admirable facilities for defence. Lines of passenger steamers make this a port of call alike when going north and south or east and west, the traffic from Japan to San Francisco by way of Hawaii being apparently very considerable. No doubt those accustomed to life in a climate like that of Honolulu may become unwilling to expose themselves to the cold further north, but a temperature with only about 20° of variation throughout the whole year, ranging from 66° to 86° , would probably become somewhat monotonous to a Canadian, although very delightful to one who is exposed to it for only a short time. So far as the casual visitor can see, there seems to be a great deal of brightness about life in Honolulu, and it is pleasing to remember that the transformation from savagery and heathenism to the present condition has been the result of Christian influence which started with the humble mission established here less than a century ago.

After leaving Honolulu, our next halting place was Suva in the Fiji Islands, about 2,600 miles further south. The first night after leaving Honolulu we saw the Southern Cross, which is regarded as the characteristic constellation of the southern skies. The stars in it are grouped in what are approximately the terminal points of a cross; but perhaps the star that most deeply interests one is Canopus, because of its remoteness. Although second only to Sirius among the fixed stars in brightness, its distance from the earth is 300 light years. As the southern constellations rise into view, those of the northern sky of course drop below the horizon, so that with the sight of the Southern Cross we lost our old familiar friend the North Star.

Between Honolulu and Suva we crossed the 180th meridian of longitude. On the outward course we were going somewhat

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to the west of south, and so in crossing this meridian we dropped a day. It was a Thursday that we cut out of the week, and so it came about that the passengers who were enjoying a dance that week on Wednesday evening beat all records by keeping up the dance until two o'clock on Friday morning. On the return trip we crowded two Tuesdays into one week and so got even with the sun and with Greenwich time.

The Fiji Islands include two larger ones and a large number of small ones, Suva being situated in the Viti Levu, one of the larger two. The islands were discovered by Tasman in 1643 and were visited a century later by Captain Cook. Missionary effort upon them began in 1834. The British flag was at that time the only ensign known in the Southern Seas, and the British Government was asked by the Fijian King to take over and administer his country. The Government declined to do so at that time, but acceded to the request at a later date. Certainly the British empire has not always grown by greed of conquest and of possession.

Captain Cook regarded the Fijians as the most ingenious of the South Sea Islanders. Although you see many of the natives at Suva, yet they are now mostly to be found in villages among their forests. They seem to have lost, at least in large measure, the arts which they formerly practised, such as the making of pottery, bark cloth, fishing apparatus and weapons of war. Weapons of war are no longer required by them, and the other articles can be bought more easily than manufactured by them. It requires very little labor for them in a place like Suva to earn enough to live on for several days, and neither house rent nor clothing come into the reckoning of expenses. If they were ever industrious they have ceased to be so, and whatever may have been their departed industries, they have parted also with the old savage wars, the savage practices and their cannibalism. They have gained a purer morality, a cleaner, peaceful condition, a new conception and new reality of home life, with considerable opportunities of betterment. When the incentive of war is withdrawn in the tropics, life for those that have no ambitions must be one of indolence and ease as of a lotus land, and so because the native would not work, the Hindoo has been brought in to take his place in the sugar mill and other industries. Many of these, though coming at

first with the intention of returning to India, have found that they could make more money and live more comfortably here, and so, like the coolies who came to Trinidad and other West Indian Islands to take the place of the old slave labor, these have remained in Fiji and now number about 40,000. The natives are of rich bronze color, large, well-built men, but unless they change their habits of indolence and become industrious, they are doomed, one would suppose, to gradual degeneration and extinction by a life that calls for so little strenuous activity.

The very name of Fiji is associated in our minds with cannibalism, and we recall Sydney Smith's gibe about the Chief having cold missionary on the sideboard. Yet while we smile at the jest, we cannot but recognize with profoundest gratitude the transformation wrought here even within eighty years by the Gospel. The mission work was carried on almost entirely by the Methodists; the entrance of the Church of England being of much later date and mainly for the white settlers. The responsibility of management and maintenance of church matters was thrown as soon as prudent upon the natives themselves, and they responded, so that now the Fijian Church is entirely self-supporting.

Fiji is a centre from which a good deal of traffic is carried on with other islands. Small steamers run from here with indifferent accommodation for passengers, and both steamers and sailing craft gather up from many quarters cargoes of copra—that is, ground cocoanut—which in these regions is a staple article of trade. It is rich in oil and is shipped in large quantities to England for the manufacture of soap, and to some parts of Europe for the manufacture of margarine, a substitute for butter. To travel, however, from Fiji to some of the other groups of islands, such as Tonga or Samoa, it may be more comfortable to go to New Zealand and from there take another line of steamers to your desired island, just as so often in England, instead of going across country, it is simpler, easier and sometimes even quicker, to go into London and then angle back to the point you wish to reach.

I was not long enough in Fiji to see anything of the Island except Suva and its immediate neighbourhood. The roads around Suva are excellent, but it seemed like an anachronism that we should enjoy an afternoon's delightful motoring in Fiji.

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The scenery is not unlike that of Hawaii, bold and mountainous, with rich fruit-growing sections, sugar-fields, and rice-fields nearer to the sea; the verdure is very rich, the rainfall being very heavy. It is one of the disadvantages of being a hurried and casual visitor that one misses much in the life of a people into which it would be interesting to inquire. Even the hurried visitor, however, if brought into touch with some of the representative persons, may gather up a good many crumbs of interesting information and may at any rate enjoy the beauty of coral reefs and league-long rollers thundering in upon them, the exquisite blue of the sea and the saw-toothed outlines of the hills cleaving the sky, the wealth of foliage and the invitation which the very atmosphere gives to put away work, an invitation which you scarcely feel surprised the Fijian has so cordially accepted.

As we were leaving Suva, a number of native Fijians and of Samoans gathered on the wharf and sang familiar hymns. It was a distinct reminder of the influence which had transformed their life and had made their island home a possible habitation for civilized women and children. The last sound that came to us from the shore as the steamer pushed out to sea was the strains of the hymn in Fiji words but to our own accustomed air:—

“God be with you till we meet again.”

It was a very impressive and suggestive touch.

Leaving Fiji, the next lap of our journey was to Auckland, New Zealand. Although I have referred to the mountainous nature of both Hawaii and Fiji, it must not be supposed that all the islands of the Pacific are of this character. On the contrary, on this southward journey, you pass a number of small low-lying islands which must often in fog or in storms be dangerous to navigation. In the clear bright weather with which we were favored, it was a source of pleasure and interest to us when we sighted and passed these. They lie close to the bosom of the sea, often covered with the cocoanut palm and girt around by a coral reef within which there may be shelter and on which even in calm weather the swell of the ocean breaks in surf. Close to them the water may be deep, so deep as to give no anchorage, and as you think of their formation, it would seem that if the sea could possibly be withdrawn, these islands would appear as

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the summits of lofty, handle-shaped hills unlike any of the mountains known to us.

Sailing on these tropical seas in such fine weather as we enjoyed is a great delight to one who is seeking health and rest. If you are tired of reading, of talking, of the ordinary deck games indulged in on ocean liners, and of the company of your fellow passengers, you can grow interested in the vast ocean around you which is here more deeply and more beautifully blue than I have seen it elsewhere, and on which you scarcely ever see a sail. Of course, it is sometimes tossed by storms, but to us it showed its gentler side, seldom too rough for a common dinghy, occasionally quieted to a dead calm when only the motion of the steamer gave us a substitute for a breeze, often kept at an even ripple by the steady pressure of the trade winds. If you came on deck early enough, you might watch the sun rise out of the sea, but at any rate as the day wore on, you could often see it drop like a great ball of fire with no attendant clouds down and further down behind the meeting line of sea and sky, reminding one somewhat of the sunset on the level prairie when you watch the lessening ball of light until at last, as Davis used to say, it disappears with one titanic wink. Then you have not to wait long for the night, for there is almost no twilight, no gloaming. "At one stride comes the dark"; but we all know the fascination of moonlight on the sea; or failing the moon you have the stars, bright constellations that are new and strange to our northern eyes. I rather pity the man who would find a trip like that monotonous.

Less than four days after leaving Fiji, we reached Auckland, the northernmost city of importance in New Zealand. Here we were once more among a people more exclusively British than in any of the places visited since we had left Victoria. Indeed, one of the first things that strike you in any town in New Zealand or in Australia is that you are among your own people. You may occasionally see some of the native race on the streets, but the one language that you hear is English, and the type of men and women that you meet is familiar.

Auckland, which was at one time the capital of New Zealand, has one of the finest harbors in the Dominion, for they speak of the Dominion of New Zealand and of the Commonwealth of Australia. Including the suburbs, its population is about 60,000,

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and a drive through the city and neighbourhood gives one the impression that there is a high degree of average comfort. It was mid-winter there at the time of my visit, that is the first week of July, very different from a Canadian winter and more like our October. In the early morning it was cold enough to suggest a slight frost, but through the day became bright and warm.

Here we came really into touch with our Australian cousins, and although there are points of difference to be noted between New Zealand and Australia, points which the people of both countries may insist on, yet the casual visitor is impressed rather with the resemblance between them. Little resemblance, however, is to be traced between the aborigines of New Zealand and those of Australia. The Maoris of New Zealand stand very high, perhaps the highest among the native races of the southern hemisphere, while the natives of Australia are among the lowest. The Maoris seem to be kinsmen of the Hawaiians and Samoans, and they have the distinction of being the only race within historic times that passed from the tropics to conquer and possess a semi-tropical land. The Maoris are distinct among the Polynesians for their peculiar vigor and fine physique. They developed no little knowledge of navigation, house-building, wood-carving, and even of agriculture. They were special adepts in war, which they seem to have regarded as the chief business of life, and the British colonists of New Zealand found in them very formidable foes; even up to the latter half of last century there continued to be fighting between the Maoris and the British soldiery. They are now, however, as peaceful as our Canadian Indians, and although of a stronger physical type, yet they seem to be doomed to the same fate of gradual extinction before the onward march of white settlers.

It is claimed for New Zealand that perhaps no other country contains so much inspiring scenery within so small a compass. Of the two large islands that constitute the country, the northern one is semi-tropical with hot lakes and luxuriant vegetation, while in the southern you have glaciers and snow-fed streams, and a great variety of beautiful landscapes. Unlike the interior of Australia, you have here no arid plains nor mountainous gum-tree forests, but a pleasing variety, a well-watered country, an attractive climate and a soil of great fertility. Much of the

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country is specially suited for dairying and sheep-raising. Indeed, New Zealand butter, which is of the highest quality, is shipped in cargoes of hundreds of tons to England and even now to Vancouver every year, and New Zealand mutton is now a staple article of food in Britain. A young Canadian stock-breeder who was my fellow passenger both going and returning, was very high in his praise of New Zealand as the finest dairying country he had seen, offering much greater attraction in that respect than our own country because of the milder climate, with no need of barns nor housing of stock, at least in the northern island, and with abundance of pasture throughout the year. At the same time, this Canadian stock-breeder was taking out to New Zealand a herd of pedigree Hereford cattle, showing that with all its advantages, New Zealand has not yet equalled Canada in the quality of its stock raising. The domestic animals of Europe have readily become acclimatized. The waters yield a great abundance and variety of excellent fish; the land seems to be one of comparative plenty, and the people enjoy a high degree of average comfort. Exclusive of the Maoris' reservations, it is a white man's land. English is the universal tongue; some parts are settled almost exclusively by English, others by Scotchmen. Dunedin is said to be as Scottish as Edinburgh, and Invercargill even more exclusively so. Here it is said the one non-Scottish resident is a Jew, whom competition has kept so poor that he cannot make money enough to get away. Although gold has been found in New Zealand, yet gold-mining has not contributed to its growth in anything like the same way as has been the case in Australia, and so the development here has been slower than in the sister Commonwealth. Needless to say, there is throughout the country the most devoted loyal attachment to Britain. The instinct of self-preservation might create such an attachment, but apart from that, lineage, custom, commerce and other powerful bonds unite very firmly this distant colony to the Motherland.

From New Zealand to Australia is a distance of about 1,200 miles across the Tasman sea, a stretch of the Southern Pacific that is often visited by storms. We had only two days that could be called rough, but sometimes in these waters the storms are as severe as any that may be met with in the North Atlantic. There is frequent and excellent service from the ports of Sydney

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and Melbourne to various ports of New Zealand, and although the two countries have declined to enter into political confederation, yet they maintain most friendly relations and intimate intercourse.

Great as has been in Canada our ignorance of New Zealand, perhaps one feels even more ignorant of Australia. Its history, resources and conditions form, so far as I am aware, no part of the ordinary studies of Canadian schools or colleges. We may be in part, though only in very small part, familiar with the early history of our own country and with such names as Cartier, Champlain, Frontenac and LaSalle, but how many of us know anything of the work of Torres and Tasman, Dampier and Cook? We know something of the struggle for representative government in our own provinces, a struggle with which such names as Howe, Baldwin and Lafontaine are inseparably connected; but how many of us are familiar with the quieter and more recent extension of self-government to the sister colonies of the Southern Seas?

Australia, which means the South Land—and no term can better describe it—is a continent by itself. For a time it was called New Holland, and this name, like that of its neighbour, New Zealand, may indicate that the first claim to both countries was not by British explorers. Sometimes, however, England has adopted the discoveries as well as the inventions of other nations, and so there are some of its southern realms that were claimed in turn by Dutch and Spanish, by Portuguese and French, that finally became part of what we call the British Empire.

I need not try even faintly to outline the history of Australia. The land became known to England just as she was losing her hold on her colonies in America. For years it had been the custom to send prisoners to some of those American colonies where contractors engaged them as laborers, and where the convict might work out his freedom. The Declaration of Independence put an end to this practice, so that if criminals were to be deported, some new field must be found for them. At the same time prison reform was being urged by a number in England; the searchlight was being turned on the condition of the convict. The political and humanitarian forces combined to ship a consignment of about 750 criminals to Botany Bay, and

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in May, 1787, these first emigrants left England for Australia reaching there in January, 1788. Free emigrants followed; the well-behaved convicts were emancipated; stock was imported from Britain and flourished in the new land; grain crops were cultivated; coal was discovered at Newcastle, a seaport north of Sydney. Part at least of the coast-line of Australia was examined, as well as the adjacent island of Tasmania, now one of the states of the Commonwealth. Settlement was pushed further inland, and even before the close of the 18th century a beginning was made in sheep-raising and wool-growing, which has since become the chief industry of the country.

For a time there was jealousy and friction between the free settlers who came from Britain and those who, having come out as convicts, received their freedom on account of good behavior. Even up to recent times it was well not to inquire too closely into the lineage of some Australian families. It has been one of the pleasantries of political discussion indulged in even in Australian parliaments, to refer to an opponent as descended from this or that convict who had left his country for his country's good. It must, however, be remembered that in the 18th century there were many confined in English prisons for very slight offences, and even capital punishment was inflicted for crimes which we would hardly call serious. There might thus be among the convicts quite a number morally equal to many of our own immigrants. Besides, we may remember Dr. Johnson's reply when a lady to whom he was showing some attention, said in an apologetic way that one of her ancestors had been hanged, and the honest old moralist answered that he did not know whether any of his had been, but he had no doubt some of them deserved to be. The system of transportation of criminals was gradually discontinued in the Australian colonies, and was finally abolished in 1853, the last place in which it lingered being Van Dieman's land, which thereafter was called Tasmania.

The various Australian colonies, New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia, had a great deal in common in their early history. Beginning as crown colonies, that is, as colonies whose public affairs were administered by officials appointed by the Colonial Office in London, they became self-governing, with the full

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privilege of responsible government, equal in political status, rivals in progress and in importance, and now constitute the Commonwealth of Australia.

It was the discovery of gold that first drew the attention of the outside world towards Australia. Scattered individual reports had from time to time been current of gold-bearing quartz having been found; but these were disregarded as fairy tales until one who had returned from the California fields, first opened in 1848, found alluvial gold in New South Wales in 1851. Then came the gold rush when, from all quarters, men hurried to the diggings, a rush equalled only by that to the fields of California two or three years before. The discovery at first made in New South Wales, was not confined to that colony. South Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and especially Victoria, yielded up great quantities of the coveted treasure. Population increased, much of it no doubt of an undesirable class, and the strength of Government was sometimes taxed to maintain law and order; but the colonies worked their way through the commotion which gold-mining creates, and came out strong and progressive communities. It is estimated that since 1851 there have been produced in Australia £500,000,000 worth of gold and £28,000,000 of silver. Alluvial mining has long since been worn out, but quartz mining is one of the settled industries.

At several periods great efforts have been made to explore the interior of Australia, the supreme effort being that of Burke and Wills in 1860-61. These explorations have made known the general features of the continent, but there are many sections still to be examined. Much of the country suffers from lack of water. In many cases this want has been met by artesian wells; in some districts large areas have been made arable by artificial irrigation, the harnessing of rivers and constructing of dams. Some large areas are suitable for sheep and cattle, although not well enough watered for arable farming. At an early date large grants of land were made to squatters, and although various Governments have from time to time broken up some of these large properties and have tried to encourage the cultivation of small farms, yet the land is not readily available for the immigrant. The land holders blame the Labor party and say that they discourage immigration for fear that competition should bring down the wages. On the other hand,

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the Labor party blames the landholders and says that deliverance can come only by taxing the large estates so that they shall come into the market at a nominal price, and that a policy even of railway extension cannot be pursued until it is clear in what direction immigration will flow. Meanwhile the development of the country is seriously delayed. The existing large industries tend to increase the population of the cities, Sydney and Melbourne being each a good deal larger than Montreal; but the drift from the rural districts to the cities can hardly fail to weaken the national life of a people. Without a full stream of red-blooded life from the country, the city would soon be wasted, and if figures and comparisons do not lie, this danger is somewhat acute in Australia.

I have referred to the Labor party. I am not in a position to discuss the political parties of Australia: but one cannot visit the country, especially when either the Federal or the State Parliaments are in session, without being interested in the political situation. The old terms "Conservative" and "Liberal," which to-day mean so little, have passed out of current use, or rather the term "Conservative" as designating a party has disappeared, and the conflict is between Liberal and Labor: the Liberal including many that might formerly have been called Conservative, and the Labor party being largely the experiment in politics of trade unionism, if not of socialism. This latter party is at present in power in the Federal Parliament, as well as in some of the State legislatures. From the published reports of their proceedings one would infer that they are considerably below our Canadian Parliaments. Perhaps the representatives may not have been accustomed to occupations that would qualify them as legislators, however earnest they may be in seeking the public good. Apparently their range of vision is narrow, and they attempt little more than class legislation. At the same time it is much in favor of any country when the lot of the workingman is as good as it is in Australia.

The main objection one finds to the labor legislation is that it does so little for the development of the country. The party has thus far had no consistent or continuous policy of immigration: it seeks to control the public utilities, having already in hand the telegraph, telephone and railways, including even some of the city street railways, such as that of Sydney, and it claims

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also that Government should control the mining industry. Whatever success may attend such control in some countries, it does not seem suited to Anglo-Saxon ideas of freedom and enterprise; it certainly checks individual initiative, and while it may prevent private fortunes being made out of public utilities, it provides in many ways a poorer service than would be had under the competition of private enterprise. There may be worse railway systems, but that of Australia is certainly the worst I have travelled on. Labor, however, still suffers unless protected by trade unionism; any worker who will not follow the union programme cannot have the help of the Labor party. The bank clerk, for instance, is not thus protected and so he is very ill off. For those who are technically called laborers, wages and hours of work are fixed by State boards, at least in the two leading states of New South Wales and Victoria.

Woman suffrage prevails, and so far as one can learn, if it has any special effect, it seems to be on the side of temperance and purity. Thus far the franchise has been exercised mainly by the wives of the working men, to whom it is an interesting combination of recreation and duty to vote. Efforts are being made to rouse their more fashionable sisters also to a sense of duty in this connection.

The Labor party is a unit against the admission of any colored labor, whether black or yellow. Indeed, the general public, with the exception of sugar planters and some of the mine managers, are agreed in making Australia a white man's country. It seems to be expected that somehow and at some time Asia will invade Australia, peacefully or otherwise, and Australians are already preparing. They have introduced a system of training for boys and young men which is expected to provide them in a few years with an efficient military force that might resist any hostile invasion. They have cleared their country of colored labor and have made regulations to keep it so. The Kanakas—that is the natives from some of the islands—who were at one time kidnapped for laborers, have been ejected. A few Chinese laundry-men still linger in some of the cities, but far more Asiatics are to be found in Canada than in Australia.

It is of course a serious question whether the resources of such a vast country can be developed by white labor alone. The

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white man might perhaps stand the climate in the hot regions, but could he be induced to come in sufficient numbers to develope and to hold the country as Java, for instance, is held by the Dutch with a vast Asiatic population? Sugar is raised much more cheaply in Fiji by colored labor than in Australia by white labor, and the Commonwealth is willing to pay the bounty in order to have it so, rather than admit the colored laborer. As to there being any danger of a warlike attempt on the part of Japan or China to penetrate Australia and to occupy alike its resources and its markets, this seems to be as distant and improbable as their attempt to possess Canada or the United States. It may be wise or unwise for Australia to try to remain white; outsiders at any rate will continue to watch the experiment with deep interest.

It was a matter of regret to me that I did not see more of their educational system and of the men engaged in it, although I had the pleasure of visiting the Universities of New South Wales and of Queensland, and of conversing with some of the leading educationalists. Their system is much like our own, alike in the primary and secondary schools and in the universities. They give a much larger place to Bible instruction in their schools than we in Canada do. Their cities are more favored than ours with botanical and zoological gardens, art galleries and museums, whether these be provided by private beneficence or from public funds. You can study the kangaroo, the wallaby and the ostrich, as well as the native trees and shrubberies day after day in their gardens. You may find in the leading centres large museums which have a great educative value. Even a hurried visit may teach one much about the life and customs of the natives as well as about the resources of field and forest, of mine and sea. You may pass hours in picture galleries where many of the paintings are worth careful study, and you may find some one to remind you that the late Phil May, the brilliant cartoonist of *Punch*, was an Australian on the staff of a Sydney paper before finding his larger field in London. You can find book stores in Sydney that surpass any I have seen in Canada. Along these lines it seemed to me they are ahead of us. As a rule their newspapers are, I think, superior to our own. They are less productive in literature, even in proportion to their numbers, and yet there is none of our own

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descriptive poets whom I read with more pleasure than Adam Lindsay Gordon, who creates for us the atmosphere of the wide Australian run, while the music of his verse is like the patter of hoof beats of the horse he loved so well. But they have not by any means equalled us in general literature, and although their country has nothing like such an interesting past as our own, they have not yet presented even of that more limited past as interesting historical sketches as we possess.

Parks and recreation grounds are amply provided, and the people some not only to be pleasure-loving, but to find their pleasure in the open spaces, a practice which is favored by their climate. They certainly are not an indolent people, otherwise they could not create such extensive industries and produce so much wealth and build such large cities; but they seem to blend a good deal of pleasure with their work in a spirit of good humored self-indulgence. Let me add that they are the very soul of hospitality.

Naturally, I attended church on Sundays, and there were fairly good congregations. Visitors sometimes complain that the advancing host of labor is hostile to religion; that there are few notable men in the clerical ranks, and that the young people for the most part shake off the burden of religion and spend their Sundays on the seductive beach. It may be so; but I dare say that in these respects, as in matters of either private or public morality, we Canadians cannot throw stones at our Australian cousins.

The country is genuinely British, showing indeed in the speech of many the distinct influence of London accent. There is no trace of American influence except where, along with the German, the American commercial traveller may be pushing his wares and taking part of a market which the British manufacturer by equal activity might retain for himself. The currency, not less than the language, reminds you of England, for your cash reckonings are not in dollars and cents, but in pounds, shillings and pence. No foreign tongue is heard; the people seem never to entertain the thought of any possible separation from Britain, however much they may criticize British ways. While they have perils of their own, yet they feel that they cannot afford to cut free from Britain, even if they must share England's perils.

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Compared with Canada, Australia has not—at least not yet—the broad hopes and visions which we cherish; has not yet come to the same degree of self-realization; does not possess the same sense of nationhood. This may be due, however, to the fact that their confederation is so much younger than ours, their separate states having been united into the Australian Commonwealth only in 1901. Australia has no race problem save only that of keeping her territory entirely for the white race. Life is slower than in Canada, with probably more pursuit of pleasure in it, yet in advance of us in parks and gardens, as well as in public museums and art galleries. One meets more frequently there than in our own country the complaint that they cannot get the best men to enter public life. The conflict between Labor and Capital is more marked with Labor at present in power, and one hears of a number seeking other lands for investment of capital, a condition that rarely occurs in Canada, while on the contrary Canada is attracting much capital from abroad.

Immigration is necessarily a more difficult problem for Australia than for Canada on account of the distance from Britain, as an English emigrant leaving his native land for Canada need find no great difficulty in returning if not satisfied with the new country, whereas in going to Australia he must burn his boats and bridges behind him. The exponents of labor and trade-unionism seem generally to be socialistic, and their socialism is narrow and polemical in tone. Probably the present ascendancy of labor is only a phase in the development of the country, a contributing factor to a better understanding that may be brought about between labor and Capital. Australia is further forward in such experiments than most other countries, and we may hope that there, as elsewhere, the Anglo-Saxon will find a pathway through his difficulties and a solution for his problems, and reach a fuller harmony between Capital and Labor than has yet been attained.

I may add that two things very specially impress a Canadian on visiting Australia. The one is the far-flung sweep of the British Empire. We read of it; we hear of it; but it is only by seeing something of it that we can realize the extent of it. Over that vast Pacific you go for thousands of miles, and at some of its most widely-scattered settlements you find the British flag

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floating, and wherever you find it, you find that it stands for justice to all who claim its protection, justice to white, bronze, yellow or black, for the uplifting hand to raise the weaker races, for freedom and righteousness and good government, and you return to your own homes with a renewed sense of gratitude that you are a British subject.

The other reflection that comes more and more upon you, slowly at first, but ever more powerfully, is that surely that vast Pacific must in time become the scene of great international movements, that the centre of gravity of the great world interests will shift in that direction, that the yellow races will yet dispute with the white races for supremacy, whether it be in the peaceful conflict of commerce, or in such conflict as has made Europe the battleground of many centuries. The millions of Asia must yet be reckoned with. Native races such as those that once possessed the islands of the Pacific, may go down and disappear under the progress of white civilization; but the men of India, China and Japan, will by degrees assert themselves. As that conflict approaches, it will not be in armaments that the safety of the white races will be found. Powerful and important as Dreadnoughts may be, ideas are still more powerful, more essential. The triumph of the white races must be achieved by the principles, the truths, the ideals which they hold, the higher spiritual forces by which they may win bloodless victories, bringing the natives of Asia to see and to share their better life.

Not much of the world's history as we know it has yet been lived out on the shores of the Pacific. The life records of humanity have been concerned far more with the nations that border on the Mediterranean, and more recently with those whose fleets might sweep the Atlantic. But it surely needs no prophet's vision to foresee that the Pacific must yet become the field for vast competition, if not conflict, and the powers which may be strongest there will do most to affect the interests of our race. How near or how remote that future conflict may be, we cannot tell, but in that conflict when it comes, our own country must surely take its part.

[December 9th, 1912.]

THE MARITIME PROVINCES

DR. W. S. CARTER,

Superintendent of Education for New Brunswick and President
1911-12 of the Association of Canadian Clubs.

IT seems to me that nothing comports more admirably with the design of Canadian Clubs than to make people in the various Provinces of the Dominion acquainted with each other, and acquainted not only with the people, but with the general resources of all the provinces. At the meeting of associated clubs held at Fredericton, in which there were representatives from clubs of the various provinces through the Dominion—may I be permitted to say that there was no club which was more ably and influentially represented than that of Montreal. At that meeting a feeling was expressed to the effect that we should become better acquainted, and when your executive honored me with an invitation to speak in Montreal I thought that I could not do better in availing myself of the privilege than to say to you that I thought you should be better acquainted with the people down by the sea. I think that possibly we are better acquainted with you than you are with us. One of the members of our Provincial Government after a long trip to the West—which has become so popular among our statesmen nowadays—returning by way of Montreal was hungry for some news of home. He told me that he was unable to find a maritime province paper in the city of Montreal. That is not necessarily Montreal's fault. I presume that if there was a demand there would be a supply. On the contrary a great many Montreal papers circulate very largely in the Maritime Provinces, and it is even said that the circulation of one Montreal paper in the Maritime Provinces exceeds that of any paper published there.

A recent writer in Canada has in a kindly manner depicted some of our oddities and peculiarities down by the sea. He has said that the Maritime Provinces produce statesmen and

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college professors. While we do not claim any monopoly in this regard I think I might point with pride to a few that we have produced. In past administration at Ottawa we have sent as Premiers of Canada Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John Thompson. Some members of former administrations who came from the Eastern Provinces were Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. T. W. Anglin as Speaker, Hon. H. J. Emerson, Sir Louis Davies, Hon. A. G. Blair, Hon. W. S. Fielding, and Hon. William Pugsley. I may not omit the present Premier, and two gentlemen to whom I point with particular pride, one under whom I sat as college professor, and another who was a student at the same time of my old Alma Mater, Hon. George E. Foster and Hon. J. D. Hazen, both able and honorable men, and although I mention their names last they are by no means least. Then there are Chief Justice Ritchie and Hon. George E. King on the Supreme Court Bench. Of college professors there are Sir William Dawson, past Principal of McGill University, Chancellors Wallace and Rand of McMaster University, and of those in present service, Principal Falconer of the University of Toronto, Principal Gordon of Queen's University, Principal Murray of the University of Saskatchewan, and two superintendents of education in the West, Mr. McIntyre of Winnipeg, and in British Columbia Mr. Robinson. While these people are the most prominent they are not by any means all.

The subject of the Maritime Provinces is much too extensive to deal within a short address. I shall not undertake to deal much in statistics nor to tell you very much of our past, but more if possible of our present, and some of our hopes and aspirations for the future.

The history of the Maritime Provinces goes back to the time of William the Conqueror, anyway. Of the period before that there has been nothing written. If it is true that the Northmen had settlements along the coasts of Nova Scotia a short time before William the Conqueror landed in England (and whose descendants have recently been discovered in the Northwest), I think we may be able to lay claim to be the oldest inhabitants, and Columbus was scarcely original in his discovery of North America. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were inhabited by two tribes of Indians who carried on a constant warfare either among themselves or with those of the Atlantic seaboard who were in

continual dread of Indians from our part of the country. The same men who had so much to do with the discovery of Quebec also had much to do with the Maritime Provinces. Jacques Cartier visited the Bay of Chaleurs. Champlain and de Monts formed settlements at St. Croix Island and Port Royal before founding Quebec. The French were the earliest settlers, and their descendants are very numerous even at present. They have increased much more rapidly than any other class of the population. There was a continuous struggle between the French and the English for a number of years for possession. The French, although much poorer and less numerous than the people of the English colonies, put up a gallant fight, and the history of the conflict was distinguished by gallant deeds on both sides, and the story is not untinged with romance. This warfare between the French colonists of Acadia and the English colonists of what is now the New England States went on until by the Treaty of Utrecht the whole of Acadia finally passed into British hands.

The romantic part of the history of this time is best pointed out by relating two incidents. The first was the gallant defence made by Lady La Tour of Fort La Tour during the absence of her husband. This defence of what is now known as St. John itself is worthy of remembrance, and I think the Ladies' Society has in mind the honoring of her memory by placing a monument on the scene of her heroic defence. As you may recall, there was a rivalry between d'Aulnay and the holder of the Fort for possession of Acadia. In the absence of her husband Madame made a most gallant defence, and it was only through the treachery of a Swiss mercenary that the gates were eventually opened. Even then she prepared to resist, but was overpowered. She was forced to witness the execution of all her garrison with a rope around her neck, and she died of a broken heart soon after at the shame and ignominy of it. La Tour on his return and on the death of d'Aulnay married his widow, and became possessor of the whole country. After the Treaty of Utrecht difficulties arose as to what constituted Acadia, and possibly the expulsion of the Acadians may be directly traced to the error that was conceived on that occasion. It was claimed that what is now the province of New Brunswick was lying without the original bounds of Acadia, and this claim was further emphasized by the erection

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of a strong fort, Beausejour, together with that of Louisburg. The French flag floated over the Island of St. John, now Cape Breton, and, as the English contended wrongfully. I do not propose to refer at any length to such a controversial subject as the expulsion of the Acadians. All I can say is that it was very regrettable, and it does not look well in the light of the way countries have been treated in modern times where war has been carried on. In the cases of South Africa and Cuba, we see that the practice of the present is greatly different from the practice of the past. I do not think that old England was primarily responsible. New England and some of its Councils led to the expulsion. These people were deported from Acadia, and taken all down the Atlantic seaboard, some as far as Louisiana, some to Westmoreland, or Restigouche, proceeding up the Penobscot river to the Northern part of Maine. They have thrived and increased in population much more rapidly than the English-speaking population. They are home-loving, industrious people who are still willing to do pioneer work. The English people have ceased to clear up new land. The French Canadian remains at home, contentedly clearing up new farms. Their families are larger than those of the English, and at present they form nearly one quarter of the population of New Brunswick; they have a large representation in Prince Edward Island, and they are increasing in Nova Scotia. One cannot but envy them these homeloving qualities and their devotion to their religion and their language. I can easily understand it is an economic disadvantage perhaps to have two languages in a community, but there are a great many advantages on the other side, and I feel sometimes that while we sympathize with the Poles and Finns in their efforts to retain their language we are not quite so charitable closer home. If the positions were reversed in this country we would be quite as tenacious of our language as they are of theirs. Of course, after the Treaty of Quebec, the whole of Canada came under British control, and nothing of very great moment took place in the Maritime Provinces until the coming of the United Empire Loyalists in 1783. It is difficult to estimate how many of these people came to Canada. Some came to Ontario, and probably the great bulk came to New Brunswick. At all events the greatest part came to the Maritime Provinces, the number being sometimes estimated at 30,000. Of these we think about

12,000 settled in New Brunswick. A great many, perhaps the majority of the people of the Maritime Provinces, claim their descent from the United Empire Loyalists. At that time there had been little development within the Provinces, but from that date began a steady progress. These United Empire Loyalists gave up much and suffered much. The standards of history are only beginning to assert themselves. I think that we have all been too prone to admit that the Loyalists were all wrong and that the revolted colonies were all right. At all events, while the descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, perhaps, have often found their way back to the United States, it would be hard to find any one of them, wherever he is, that would be ready to admit that they were altogether wrong. At that time we in the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia obtained the very cream of the educated men of the revolted colonies. It was said that there were more graduates of Harvard or Yale in New Brunswick after the coming of the Loyalists than were left in the Colonies themselves. Their descendants have taken a most active part in the peopling of the country. The farms deserted by the Acadians were taken by many of the New England colonists. They did not prove very loyal during the time of the rebellion, but as many of their descendants are still living who are excellent and loyal citizens, and as we did not take on our side any drastic measures regarding them at the close of the war, I suppose that the less that is said about it the better. I think that while the United Empire Loyalists are excellent Canadians, strongly attached to British connection, we have made perhaps too many professions of loyalty in these latter days, and that our performances have not exactly come up to them. As we show signs of amendment, I think perhaps I had better defer any remarks on this subject until we can point to some better performance in the future.

Very soon after the landing of the Loyalists New Brunswick was created into a separate province, and has managed her destinies ever since. There was nothing after that that requires very much attention until after confederation. It was perhaps first thought that there should be maritime union, and perhaps it may occur to you sitting here before me that maritime union is what we want down there. That seems to meet with the approval of some here, but I do not think that you would find it

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approved of very much down there. It does not seem to be the tendency of the age for legislative unions. Federal unions are quite common. We have some of the states in the United States much smaller in area than any of the maritime provinces. We can point to the union of the various states of Australia into a commonwealth, and the union of the South African States on the one hand and the disruption of Holland and Belgium, and of Norway and Sweden on the other. We also hear it hinted that Ireland is about to receive local autonomy at any time, and some go so far as to say that Scotland and Wales should also have it, and that Great Britain itself should be subdivided into three separate provinces for municipal purposes. So the tendency of the age is not towards legislative union. Local autonomy seems to have possession of the minds of the people not only in state matters but in parish politics. Any little school district desires local autonomy, and I think it will be a long time before you see maritime union. It is very doubtful if we were one province that we would have a larger representation in the Dominion House than we have at the present time. It is true that we have more machinery than is needed for each of the Provinces, but we have great expectations for the future. If I may be allowed to prophesy, I think that these large provinces in Canada, Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, when they become more thickly populated, and when their interests become more diverse, will be split up. It has been the constant occurrence of history, and I think that it will repeat itself here in Canada.

Before Confederation, maritime union was seriously proposed. A convention was called at Charlottetown when down swooped Sir John A. MacDonald and some other Upper Canadian statesmen, and proposed confederation. This seemed to be more attractive than maritime union and prevailed. It was submitted to the people of New Brunswick in 1867, and most decisively defeated, 35 out of 41 members being elected in opposition to it. Then there came the border troubles, distinguished by Indian raids, and an election taking place the next year, the decision was entirely reversed, and New Brunswick came in almost unanimously. Nova Scotia was next, and Prince Edward Island followed a few years later more. Let me say this. I think that the people of Canada owe a debt to the people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for confederation, for although it would be

very hard to find men nowadays who would be willing to go back, and although we may not have obtained all that we expected from confederation, I think better days are dawning for us. It is conceivable that if confederation had not been consummated at that time, the Maritime Provinces would have kept about the same position that Newfoundland keeps with regard to the rest of the union, and that it would not have been consummated at all. Still, while we made a fair bargain, and took Quebec for a standard, we have not progressed and increased in population as fast as some of these upper provinces, we have been losing members right along, and we are threatened with a still greater loss by the results of the present census.

What we claim is that there should be an irreducible minimum—that our representation should not be decreased; and I think that we have some grounds for making the claim. Quebec has not remained the same as it was at confederation. It has been added to very largely in area. The Maritime Provinces cannot expand. There is no Hinterland. Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have been added to, and the last two will get to the Arctic circle pretty soon. British Columbia is the largest province of all. We have no opportunity to expand territorially. Our population increased very satisfactorily until about fourteen years after confederation. Since that year we have not held the natural increase, although as I have pointed out to you the greatest increase is in the French districts. That perhaps is easily accounted for. In the United States some time ago they had the Western fever the same as we have. They were developing their great West. New England was nearly stripped. There were great opportunities there, and our people went across to Boston, New York, and even to the West. The same thing is going on to-day. Our people are going to the West, and we are glad to know that they are going to build up our own country instead of a foreign country as formerly.

We had at the time of confederation scarcely any communication whatever with Canada. To reach Montreal we had to go by sea to Portland, Maine, and take the Grand Trunk to Montreal. It was a very roundabout way of shipment, and the building of the Intercolonial Railway was one of the bonds of confederation. Since that railway was built we feel much nearer. The Intercolonial Railway is very near to the affections of the

maritime provinces, and any change which might interfere with the present excellent service that is being given would be viewed with a very great deal of discontent. The Intercolonial Railway, while it may not pay dividends—very large dividends—at least accommodates the people. I have nothing to say of the other excellent railways, but I think we owe a great debt to the Intercolonial Railway. It might be better managed, more economically managed, but, however managed, it is managed in the interests of the people. It not only serves New Brunswick, but Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. It gives every opportunity to the people living along it to live, and to get transportation at reasonable rates. Might I say without venturing into realms of controversy that it would be an excellent thing for the whole country if that railway were extended to the Pacific Ocean? It would be the most excellent regulator of all the other railways. I feel very confident that in the maritime provinces to-day we would pay very much higher rates if it were not for the regulating influence of the Intercolonial Railway.

Our population is about three quarters of a million. Nova Scotia is the most populous, Prince Edward Island is the most thickly settled, and New Brunswick has a population of about 325,000 to 350,000 by the last census. It is a population made up almost entirely of British and French stock. Very little foreign admixture has been introduced.

The great industries of the Maritime Provinces are, of course, our agriculture, mining and fishing. I do not think, with all due deference to the Western Provinces, to Ontario, and to parts of Quebec, that a more fertile portion of territory can be found anywhere in the Dominion than Prince Edward Island. It is all arable land of the richest and best quality. It labors under the disadvantage of not having winter communication with the rest of the Dominion, although very heroic efforts have been made to overcome this disadvantage. It is now proposed to build a tunnel. If this proposal is practicable I feel sure that it should be built, because that has been a feature which has kept back Prince Edward Island—its lack of winter communication, and all the disadvantages arising therefrom.

Some time in the past it was seriously proposed to block up the Straits of Belle Isle, and it was said that it could be done at a cost of about \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000. Whether true or

not, I can say that if the Northern current which comes down the coast of Labrador were diverted, and if the ice which keeps the climate of the Maritime Provinces back two or three months were kept out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence there would be a great difference in what we could produce in the Maritime Provinces. If you have ever reflected the most northern part of New Brunswick is two degrees further south than the most southern part of England. The latitude of the Maritime Provinces on the average is about that of the South of France. Although the climate is somewhat different, I doubt whether France or any country bordering on the Mediterranean can present a better summer climate than that of the Maritime Provinces.

I started in to say something about the agricultural possibilities of Prince Edward Island. There are fourteen million acres of arable land in New Brunswick, and about one-sixth of it has been brought under cultivation. This may not be true to the same extent of Nova Scotia, but there is about the same. New Brunswick is about the size of Scotland without its islands. Nova Scotia is about three-quarters the size, and Prince Edward Island, containing a population of 100,000, has about two thousand square miles of good land. The people of Prince Edward Island were hampered for a long time by a system of absentee landlordism, and the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had their struggles for responsible government just as you had up here. Happily they obtained it without any resort to violent measures.

In the Province of New Brunswick the Government alone owns about seven million acres of land. A great amount of land is also owned by private individuals. The New Brunswick Government derives a stumpage of \$1.25 a thousand, thus obtaining about half a million dollars in revenue. I think the stumpage should be doubled. We believe that in our forest wealth with proper conservation we have an asset that will last us for ever. It is true that forest fires have done a great deal of damage, and we are only just now awake to the uses of conservation, not only in the lumber industry, but in other industries as well. We have been very wasteful in our fishing and lumbering operations, and I would like to ask the influence of the Canadian Clubs to forward the Conservation movement in every way that may be possible. Fire has done more damage than the axe.

Our fisheries—well, we have in the Maritime Provinces the best fisheries to be found in Canada, or I believe anywhere in the world with the exception of British Columbia. And they are only just beginning to be developed. Yet by reason of improvident methods we were threatened with the loss of the salmon, although during the last few years they are actually increasing. Towns on the Bay of Fundy coast where they made a business of going after the salmon expected every third year to be an off year, but they began to find the catch becoming yearly smaller and awoke to the necessity of doing something if this valuable industry was to be preserved to the Maritime Provinces. For a number of years now hatcheries have been in operation, and it has been demonstrated that they are of the greatest possible benefit. The lobster is becoming extinct, and it is probable that the same means taken to preserve the salmon would be successful in conserving the lobster. Such a proposition in the United States was laughed at in the West, and no doubt in Canada where, the interests of one Province are so diverse from those of others, the needs of the Maritime Provinces in this regard would not be well understood. A great deal can be done by assemblies such as this held from time to time to disseminate proper ideas about conservation. Another fish we have is the shad, which has a good future before it. The oyster is becoming very scarce. I think that we cannot get together too soon to devise methods for saving Canada from the extinction of these fishes. On the other side, in Maine, they have been taking means for the propagation of the lobster for some time with good results. They had been almost exterminated there. Mackerel, which does not frequent the Bay of Fundy as it used to do, owing to wasteful and extravagant methods, has become very scarce also, and along the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the coast of Nova Scotia as well. We cannot too soon start in to preserve this admirable fish.

I suppose the Maritime Provinces have more miles of railroad per head of population than any other country in the world. We have the Intercolonial, the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern, in parts the Grand Trunk Railway, and we are now building that much-desired railway, the St. John Valley Railway. Nova Scotia is a province richer in natural resources than almost any part of the country of equal area. Coal, iron and gold abound with other minerals. These are being developed by

Montreal men for the most part. The coal and steel of Sydney and Glace Bay are all developed from Montreal. Sir William Van Horne proposes to build at St. Andrews a gigantic fish factory. Up to this time we have been rather hewers of wood and drawers of water for the people across the line. A large part of the markets for fish has been there. You people have been accustomed to buy your fish at Gloucester, although these were caught by fishermen in the Maritime Provinces in Maritime vessels manned by Maritime crews, and shipped to these places. All this is being done away with. Now they do not allow us to bring the product to these ports in our own boats, and they insist that the boats should be built on their side. We can fish, and they will sell them at a profit after cleaning them and preparing them for the market. Now, factories are springing up of our own, and the Americans are very much afraid of it. I do not think their fishing regulations will be so stringent in the future. It will be good if we can not only catch fish, but put them up for the market in Canada. I think we will then be able to supply Canada wholly, which I do not believe we do now.

I suppose the Maritime Provinces supply one of the best fields for the sportsmen to be found anywhere. New Brunswick has strictly enforced its game laws, and the other provinces also, I think. Deer and moose are becoming so plentiful as actually to be a nuisance to the farmer. It was forbidden to shoot any cow moose for a number of years. Caribou and the ordinary variety of deer are also very numerous. An increasing number of sportsmen come year by year to the province, and I do not think any country can show better advantages than the Maritime Provinces for the sportsman.

The conservation of its game is very important to Canada, and Canadian Clubs can exert an important influence on the public sentiment in this regard. The Indian never killed more than he wanted, and although he lived almost entirely by fishing and hunting there was no diminution in the supply under him, but the game hog is a greater menace than the man that violates the game laws. While there may be restrictions, they are not observed. This is especially true in fishing and partridge shooting, and with regard to ducks and geese, which we have in great abundance, but not in as great abundance as formerly, because these birds are migratory, and so suffer at both ends. I think

there should be a better sentiment even among sportsmen. Marketing the partridges has been forbidden, but sportsmen should not shoot more than a certain amount, and should induce others to act in the same manner.

Now, in closing, you will pardon me if I talk shop for a minute or two. While we do not begrudge any expenditure for public works or for defence purposes, there is one thing that is not much considered in these days, but which lies at the root of all progress and improvement in all directions. I refer to the matter of education. Bismarck said several years ago that the future belongs to the nation having the best schools, and Germany has been acting on that principle ever since. I think that is one of the reasons that we are compelled to stand in such awe of them, and that she is regarded by all nations with so much respect. She has introduced free training of all her citizens in precision and discipline, and for some definite lifework, and today it is said that in the whole German Empire there is scarcely an unskilled laborer. At all events that will be the case in a very short time, for her unskilled labor she sends to Poland and Italy through bureaus of information.

While hoping never to see the day when it will not be possible to secure a classical education if one desires to have it, yet, while the study of classics is an admirable avenue to culture, I do not think it is the only one, and we have to keep step with the times. Perhaps, we are becoming too material in these days, but at all events we must not wait to follow public opinion. We must lead it. Education is the chief business of the State, in the old Roman maxim. A few millions spent upon technical education in Canada would put her in a few years to the forefront among the nations. Unless the federal government undertakes to do this, of necessity we must fall to the rear of the procession. Sir William Macdonald came down to the Maritime Provinces, and with the most able assistance of Professor Robertson, established a few consolidated schools, and the results are now becoming very apparent. Of course they were only here and there, but they excited general interest, and they have done more to take the public sentiment along lines of technical and industrial education than any other agency I know of. A little bread cast on the waters only a few years ago is beginning to return even now, and I think the Dominion Government should take the matter up,

because the Provinces, while not having extensive revenues, have extensive needs. Clothes made for a man when he was a boy will not fit him when he becomes a man. The United States is taking hold of this matter of industrial, commercial and technical education, and Canada cannot afford, I feel sure, even if it costs the price of a Dreadnought every year, to be behindhand in efficiency. The old apprenticeship system has gone, and while I tremble to think of the responsibilities of the schools if we have to assume the burden of the child's preparation for trade efficiency, it is undeniable that our boys and girls must receive some training somewhere, and if they can receive culture and training at the same time in the course of their education, I feel that we should obtain all the assistance possible in trying to give it to them. I am glad to know that members of the House have not lost sight of this, and that we have a Commission appointed at the present time whose report we await with a great deal of impatience. When it is made I trust that it will embody provisions for largely assisting technical education, in which it is said that England has overtaken Germany. Dr. Robertson told me that in many respects they were fully equal, and that in some respects British schools were superior to those of the Germans. The United States is spending millions and our philanthropists are giving thousands of dollars every year for the support of higher education such as universities and colleges. What is the value of the college and the university if the preparatory school is starving? It is like a house founded on the sand.

We have the greatest mining development and prospects in the Maritime Provinces, and it is thought that ultimately New Brunswick will rival Nova Scotia in this regard. We have discovered oil shales that are the richest deposit of the kind to be found in the world. There are wells in Albert County where fifty to sixty tons of oil are given every hour. Sir William MacKenzie is developing this at the present time. There are oil wells in the vicinity and natural gas wells with a capacity of 1,400,000 cubic feet every twenty-four hours sufficient to light the whole city of Moncton, and from which sufficient power can be taken for the whole Province of New Brunswick if the gas can be transported. Waterloo has a grand falls second only to Niagara, and by harnessing the tides of the Bay of Fundy enough power would be produced to supply the whole Atlantic seaboard of the continent of North America.

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If you wish to come to the Maritime Provinces for pleasure you will find St. Andrews a delightful place where many Montreal men have settled, and we have charming summer resorts all along the Bay of Fundy coast. Nova Scotia will be the summer resort of Canada, I am convinced. If you come down for business you will find that for purposes of agriculture, while New Brunswick is not so easily cultivable as some of the Provinces of the West, or Ontario, we can produce larger crops of many fruits than they can in any other part of Canada. Our apples, such as the McIntosh Red, the Fameuse, and the Northern Spy, as grown in the Annapolis Valley and other parts of the Eastern Provinces cannot be surpassed, and that has been demonstrated at many an exhibition.

[December 16th, 1912.]

OBJECTS OF THE CANADIAN DEFENCE LEAGUE

By PRINCIPAL M. HUTTON
of University College, Toronto.

WHAT has a lecturer on Greek to do with national defence, with the Strathcona Trust, with universal military training and leagues of defence? And what will this dreamer say? I think I catch with my mind's ear, which is not so deaf as my ear physical—some such comment as that. Well, gentlemen, that is exactly why I am interested in these questions—because I am a teacher of Greek.

We have been all surprised at the recent success of the Greek arms. We had remembered the previous war between the Greeks and the Turks and the ignominious collapse of that war. It is also my business to remember historically the wars of the ancient Greeks; and I think that in spite of Marathon and Salamis, Thermopylæ and Plataea, I am bound to remember a great deal of ignominious collapse, first before Macedonia, which was scarcely Greek, and then before Rome, which was the antithesis of Greece. Two thousand years and more have elapsed since that nation of ancient Greece, not unlike in some ways the Britain of to-day, full of commerce, literature, logic, science, or art, poetry and theatres, and even of athletics, went down in final and fatal ruin before an army of rude and simple soldiers, soldiers who were inferior to them in every possible respect except in self-control, self-denial, self-reliance and in the knowledge of the art of war. Athens went down in fatal ruin before the simple soldiers of Philip of Macedon, the Bismarck of Ancient Greece, and she perished because she would not leave her theatres and her Parliament, her statues and her statutes, her paintings, her pottery and her plebiscites, her poets and her philosophers, to face the drudgery of military service. She would not fight her

own battles. Thessalians and Arcadians, adventurers of the plains and adventurers of the mountains, might do the fighting for her. She would have none of it. I suppose that in some such way the battles of Great Britain have been won by peasants from Ireland and Highlanders from Scotland, but at least these men belong to the same mother country with Englishmen, which cannot be said for Athens. But is it fair to throw the brunt of the defence of the Empire on their devoted heads? Are Irish peasants and Scotch Highlanders the only men left in the Empire, the only citizens who retain the first initial and elementary basis of all citizenship, the power and spirit of self-defence? Athens perished just because she had forgotten this power and this spirit. She had forgotten what the old historian said to her with covert archness and reproachful irony, that the first essentials of a political education are to ride straight, to shoot straight, and to speak the truth. These things seemed very tedious in the eyes of the brilliant Athenians. It is better to run fast than to shoot straight. It is more spectacular. It is better to talk fast than to ride straight. It is more entertaining. Better to spend one's time at oratory, poetry, philosophy and politics than in speaking the truth. They are infinitely more intellectual. Any fellow can tell the truth, but it takes a clever fellow to lie on these high themes, or any theme.

Let us rid our minds, gentlemen, of cant; and interrogate some dispassionate critic about this thing called militarism. If we can find none more dispassionate let us even be guilty of the portentous pedantry of invoking a witness from among the philosophers of ancient Greece, and ask the opinion of Plato and Aristotle. They were never the victims of jingoism or mafficking, and just as little were they the victims of the opposite craze of peace at any price. They pointed out the inevitable downfall of merely military states like Sparta, but they attended no peace conferences in unmilitary Athens. They agreed, although one was a little Athens man, and the other belonged to no imperial city, to endorse within limits the military training as containing many of those factors of virtue especially lacking in a commercial democracy. They agreed that if either of them could find or found a city after his own heart it would neither be a city like Sparta, nor a mob of talkers, scribblers, poets, painters, philosophers and moneymakers like Athens. It would have the

resource, bravery, obedience and physique of Sparta, as well as the intelligence, science, civilization and refinement of Athens. They were only theorists, it may be said. Look at the actual practical statesman Demosthenes, the last voice of free Athens. He cried himself hoarse in trying for twenty years to wake his countrymen on this question of military training—to rouse them out of their amusements, their theatres and their politics to action, to common, plain, hard military service, without which the glory and genius which was Athens would pass like a golden cloud at sunset, and in such fashion it passed. It is a far cry from Demosthenes to ex-President Roosevelt, but I think that they are the same in spirit. The latter said, "All the peace conferences in the world will not prevent this country fighting under certain contingencies, but they may prevent her winning." And so, in the same way, the peace conference orators at Athens prevented her winning.

There are three propositions which the Defence League places before you. Historically, in the past, those nations which have despised and rejected military training as tiresome and tedious for intellectual men or as inhuman and un-Christian for righteous and religious men—such as Athens, modern China before the Japanese war, and modern France before the Franco-German war—have suffered either irredeemably or fearfully from their lofty intellectualism and their moral idealism. Secondly that as in the historic past so in the present, the time is not ripe and human nature is not ripe for the rejection of military service and military training. It is not safe as yet to beat our swords into steel pens and our spears into railway ties. The third proposition is that such training, apart from its mere necessity to avert that which has happened in the past to Athens, and which has happened more lately to China and to France, is beneficial physically and morally to the physique and the health and the morals of the people, and most especially of boys and young men.

With regard to these three propositions—I have said enough of ancient Athens—let us turn to modern France before 1870, instead. The Liberal party in France in the sixties resisted and hampered the French Emperor of those days just as their spiritual descendants, the extreme socialists of France to-day, are hampering the Republic. They said, "War is an anachronism.

War is out of date. Arbitration is to take its place." And so they argued up to the eve of war, until the brawling Paris mob with shouts of 'A Berlin' drowned all their arguments. Only after the battle of Sedan did they begin to repent. Then their leader, Gambetta, spent his energy and mighty force in organizing emergency armies which were too late—as emergency armies and emergency navies are likely always to be too late—especially if one waits until an emergency has arrived sufficiently near to suit the meaning which the pacifist journal finds it convenient to attach to that very cryptic and interesting word. Gambetta spent his matchless energy, his wonderful genius, in organizing emergency armies which came to nought. He spent his energy in trying to undo in a hurry the mischief and the wounds which his own pacifism had helped a weak and sick Emperor to inflict on France. The time has not yet come for us or any people to repeat the pacifism of French liberalism in the sixties or of the Chinese thirty years later. The present British government is pacific enough, but with all its honest desire for peace it has found it necessary to organize ententes and friendships, to increase the navy and reorganize its army, and in the summer of 1911 it was found prepared for war. You all remember the result. Because it was prepared for war, war did not come. The very powers of Europe which did not share these friendships and these ententes have nevertheless publicly proclaimed that the formation of these ententes and friendships has consolidated for the present at least the peace of Europe by creating a mass of power sufficient to counterbalance the great central European alliance. Nothing else but such a balance has preserved the European peace, and what else will preserve it?

The training of boys and young men to defend their country is not only common sense, and common necessity, and Canadian common law, but it is also a safeguard against that physical degeneracy and physical decadence which industrialism generally brings in its train. That is a very large question, and like all large questions it leads back straight to Ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle again. Those musty pedants, Plato and Aristotle, not merely insisted that the soldier's carrier is a large factor in virtue, but they dilated on the poor physique, the impaired health and the physical and moral decadence of industrialism and of the mechanic's life unless it were safeguarded with other things, and

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even so true a man of the people as Socrates was very fond of talking on this theme of the physical and moral decadence produced by industrialism. We brush it all aside as ancient aristocracy. Aristocracy it was in a sense. The ancient Greek philosophers wanted to see their countrymen at their best, each man in himself the best, and their states to be controlled by men at their best men with something of Spartan simplicity, Spartan hardihood and training. This so-called aristocracy has a much better name. It was simply the hard experience of life which inspired in Plato and Aristotle their aristocracy. Even the ancient world had its industrial slavery and its industrial sweating, its large bodies of men, sometimes citizens and sometimes slaves, not only cooped up in factories for manufacturing purposes, but sometimes condemned to labor in a round of very narrow and mechanical drudgery, so that the workman ceased to be an artist, and spent his whole time in soul-destroying, body-crippling labor upon one small portion of one small product, on the sole of a sandal or the point of a reaping hook. The Greek philosophers, seeing this, deplored the loss of physique arising from industrialism, and recognized the much better physique of the smaller states, Thebes and Sparta. On the other hand, modern illustrations of improved physique in states which, like them, practised military training, you can see in Switzerland, Sweden and Germany. Germany, efficient in commerce, efficient in science, efficient in intellect, efficient even in literature, although not so pre-eminent in literature as once she was, we find also efficient in military training and physical exercises. In Germany boys are trained to exercise and to military discipline. In England they are training him without military discipline, and sometimes, even often, without exercise. To watch exercises, to bet and root at football without even playing at football, seems to be the custom. Athletes have never taken the place of the soldier. Athens produced athletes and Rome produced soldiers, and none doubts which was the better in physique and morals. Athletes are better than the loafers and rooters who scream around them, and make an honest game the occasion for betting. All travellers in Europe bear testimony to the improvement in physique and character where military training has been organized. All readers of the ancient gospels and epistles have noticed that while the great apostle turns for his similes both to the soldier and the athlete it is to the soldier that he turns for his great metaphors when his passion rises to the height of his high theme.

What is to be said on the other side? The pacifist denounces everything military as inhuman, un-Christian, already anachronistic, as feeding hatred, blood lust, as degrading, debasing and brutalizing. A few biological pacifists like President Jordan seek to bolster the weak spots of this indictment and clinch these arguments by attributing European decadence and bad physique to the results of past wars. War has taken away all the best wheat from European fields, and has left only the poor tares and weeds to propagate themselves. War is responsible for the rickety and degenerate dwellers of the modern slum. 'How that red rain has made our harvests fail' sings our new Byron. Biology is a very fascinating science, and from it very surprising inductions and deductions have been made, much more largely entertaining than scientific. Some people have based aristocratic politics on biology. Professor Ridgeway gave interesting speculations of this kind before the British Association recently, and some professors have based democratic politics on biology. Even the poet Pindar was found among the prophets of this biology, and now in the fulness of time President Jordan bases antimilitarism on biology, and delivers with obstetric hand that fruitful mother of yet a third and immature child.

Gentlemen, after I had written that paragraph I found that General von Bernhardt has also been writing about biology and militarism, and saying that biologically war is necessary in order that the survival of the fittest may be guaranteed. I do not guarantee his biology, and I am quite sure that President Jordan repudiates his biology; but he quotes from other biologists. Meanwhile, if militarism be responsible for this reduced physique, it is strange that the middle ages did not produce as good a physique as our own, that women have improved their physique in this generation by means of exercise, that the falling off physically is most conspicuous in that least military and most industrial of nations, Great Britain, and the opposite phenomenon is conspicuous in Germany, that most military of countries. I would like to observe that that argument is more conspicuous in the early Christian church and even on the lips of the Apostles themselves, on the lips of Quakers and on the lips of all those who were muscular or just simply masculine. I have also observed with surprise that some radical pacifists who denounce all war and all militarism, and proclaim war on war, are accustomed in the

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same breath to demand that Great Britain shall exert her power to protect the weak races and struggling nationalities everywhere against oppressors and against autocratic governments. If Great Britain can help struggling nationalities like the Balkans it is because these nations have been able to put into the field armies that can fight, and because Great Britain can herself put armies and navies in the field to help the Balkan League.

Most of these humanitarian and pacifist movements awaken misgiving because the real motive force behind them is not pure humanitarianism, idealism, or Quakerism, which we could respect. The real force behind this movement, especially in France, where all movements begin and all revolutions have their origin, is far removed from disinterested humanitarianism. It is class consciousness and class feeling that is the strongest feeling making against military training to-day and the profession of the soldier. The later socialists of France have most logical and practical reasons for being against war and against the genius of war, because they call the policy of nationalism or the principle of race competition against races, a sort of national individualism. By a crusade against inequality, against class distinctions, they seek to replace war in the old sense of a war natural and national, by a new civil war, *la guerre sociale*; by the destruction of the national and individual bases of life, by separating nations and classes within each nation, by separating individuals in each class for the sake of abolishing those classes in favor of a new doctrine of universal levelling down and universal equality, by the abolition of competition between nations or individuals, in favor of the extreme form of egalitarian socialism. These ideas have the charm of all promises. It is true that in this world of chance and change—

Where this or that way swings the flux of mortal things

Though moving only to some far-off goal,—

it is true that in this world of chance and change it looks as if it had been created by intelligence and then forgotten; it is true that in this world of chance and change the wise man will be very slow to say that any change is impossible because it is novel and revolutionary; but at least he will ask for evidence that the revolution is something more than novel, or something more than noble and generous sentiments on the lips of its advocates—that it is broadly and generally and for the world at large just

and generous. What if this assault on war, nationalism and inequality turn out to be in the last resort an assault on the ultimate things, on the ultimate distinctions of higher and lower, of better and worse, of energy and indolence, capacity and incapacity, efficiency and inefficiency, of right and wrong? If it be really that, if it seeks to interfere with rightful distinctions between right and wrong, capacity and incapacity and the like, it is not merely unprincipled but it will turn out to be neither generous nor just. For equality, after all, must rest on justice for its justification and injustice on inequality. If a nation can secure as new countries can secure, as this comparatively happy country has secured for itself, equality of opportunity—if a nation can secure proportionate equality, an equal chance for all men to measure to that standard to which their natural abilities entitle them—if a nation can secure as this nation has secured, that aristocracy of nature which is not incompatible with broad and democratic instincts, which is rather the expression of the only form of democracy which can be permanent because honest and wholesome—then I am sure that that equality, an equality of opportunity and privilege, a relative equality, is infinitely more generous and infinitely more just than the abstract millennial equality, the literal equality which was demanded by the French revolutionists, and is demanded to-day by the extreme socialists, a demand to-day of the envies and jealousies of mean men. Is it not also patent that cosmopolitanism, humanitarianism and Christian idealism are not at the base of this movement when the door is so closely barred against the Japanese and Orientals generally? Whether rightly or wrongly barred I do not say, but it serves to show that these are not the aim of these practical pacifists, although they find it convenient to harp on those high strings, even if they do not take them seriously at the time. These are the external aspects of the crusade against war.

What then of war? Naturally war takes on more and more of Christianity. The wars of our people become ever more and more humane, and war like everything else partakes of the character of the age. Even fifty years ago, even seventy-five years, even in distant Oriental India we astonished people; we provoked the doubts and the smiles of our native allies by the absurd humanity and the mercy of our armies. Why pardon your enemies? they asked. Why deal gently with opponents and thus

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jeopardize the fruits of victory? Is not war killing? Why kill only in battle? Why not after battle? It is much safer and easier, and it stamps out opposition much more effectually. So writes Sita Ram, whose moving autobiography comes down to us. He asked this question, this native officer of the Indian army seventy-five years ago, and he came to the conclusion that the British are brave, that they fight for the pleasure of fighting—not for the pleasure of killing.

So the game of war goes on, becomes ever more restrained, straighter and fairer, and, becoming so, realises the ancient and not dishonorable ambition to ride straight, to shoot straight and to speak straight. The soldier is the creature of his age, even in the Balkans. He cannot escape humanitarianism. He escapes it far less than we do. We all of us escape it better than he does because it is preached at him. His reform and abolition is its passion and goal. This is largely beside the mark, as military training and preparation is not to provoke war but to prevent war. Because the pacific powers of this world Great Britain, the United States and France, three great democracies,—because these three great powers can maintain peace by counter-balancing the warlike preparations and engines of the militant nations we have peace, and that is the only way in which peace can be maintained. Arbitration may come in time; but the spectacle of the chief advocate of arbitration, President Taft, wilting and withering before the first spring breeze from the un-Pacific Pacific Coast, from California, does not encourage confidence in its speedy and unchallenged advent; and what wise man will dismiss precautions with none stronger than that half-hatchet pacifist at Washington to rely on? And remember, gentlemen, that arbitration favors always the status quo. It blocks a rising nation. It is a very conservative agency. Further, military training for boys and young men is designed to avoid continental conscription, to avoid barrack life for all men during some of the most precious years of life, to avoid war, but not to avoid the boy's interest in war—his instinct for the pomp and circumstance of war, and to train to sober national purpose that instinct and that purpose. These instincts may produce war in the piping times of peace, but they will not so easily produce war when the fear of war is always before the nation's eye.

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Wars are not made by soldiers. They are made by interested, unscrupulous statesmen and falsified telegrams published in the sensational press by yellow journalists. It is not from the trained men who know the nature of war, its risks and uncertainties, that war comes. The Franco-German War could never have been made by soldiers without the politicians and the city mob and the city press. Finally, military training is a training compensatory of the weaknesses and foibles of our age, and a corrective for the excesses of our own system and our own shibboleths. In an age and country wholly divorced from militarism—from military virtues—it can do no harm and only good to have military training. In this age of education and free thought we can afford to have a training that will cultivate self-denial, obedience and the spirit of service; for although these belong to ages and lands of conflict, to the soldier and the soldier's life, they are even better in helping our young men and boys in their fights against themselves than against the external foe.

All of these reasons are sufficient to justify the Defence League, and the cumulative effect is all the greater, showing what is written directly and indirectly in history—directly in the fall of nations not espousing military training, or not having had the patience for it, and indirectly in the rise of nations not dispensing with military training, as in little Prussia, once so small and now so great because she had the spur of military training and the patience to submit herself to that wholesome discipline.

[January 13, 1913]

THE RADICAL ELEMENT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

REV. CHAS. STELZLE

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of the United States.

I ALWAYS feel safer in giving a talk when I can use a text, something that has to do with the Church, and so I am going to read a few paragraphs from a little book that I have called "The Church and Labor":—

"The spirit in England in the case of the ecclesiastical disturbances of the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, was closely akin to that which animates the union at its worst. The matter then at stake was the religious supremacy of England. The Establishment for the time being was to all intents and purposes the union. In the reign of Mary the union was the United Catholics of England. They were determined that no non-unionist should hold ecclesiastical office in the realm, and that no citizen should be baptized or confirmed or receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or be married or buried, except at the hands of an official of the union. Non-unionists were insulted, fined, forbidden the right to assemble, and boycotted. Some of the more obstinate and aggressive were put to death: Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were burned at the stake as non-unionist Bishops. In Elizabeth's day the union was the Brotherhood of Anglican churches; in Cromwell's day it was the Amalgamated Association of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. They all behaved alike and did the same kind of thing for which we now reprobate the workingman. So they did in New England, where they whipped the non-union Baptists and the non-union Quakers. Whoever would understand what the union means to the workingman, has but to read church history."

That is my text.

The other day in Indianapolis thirty-eight men, labor leaders, were convicted of dynamiting and sentenced for various periods in the federal penitentiary. Previous to this, the McNamara

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brothers were convicted in the West as self-confessed dynamiters. In Massachusetts a little while ago, Ettor and Giovannitti were tried for alleged crimes, and after their liberation there was held a monstrous procession which by some conservative people was regarded as one of the most radical demonstrations indicating the tendency among workingmen to-day. Shortly before that we heard about the strike in Lawrence. I shall refer to this in a little while. You are, I think, familiar with things that went on in the State of Colorado, where I spent a month studying the conditions while they were at their worst. I might repeat a long list of crimes alleged to have been committed in the name of organized labor throughout America. That is one aspect or phase of the radical tendency in the labor movement to-day. But there is another aspect of it which has not to do with the committal of crime, but which I think is more important, namely—the remarkable growth of Socialism. In the United States in 1888 the Socialists polled 2,000 votes: last year they polled nearly one million—an increase of 100 per cent. in the last four years. I am not a Socialist, but I am glad to know there are some here. I have been attending for a good many years the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor. About three years ago, knowing practically every one of the delegates, I estimated the strength of Socialism, and discovered that it was about one-seventh of the enrolled delegates: but the other day in Rochester I discovered that one-third of the delegates were tainted with Socialism. Alongside of this just contrast the comparatively small increase in the ranks of the more conservative trade-unionists.

One other thing: The growing hatred between Capital and Labor, as manifested by the powerful organizations being built up by the employers on the one side and the workingmen upon the other, is to my mind one of the most significant phenomena of the period. To me it is quite inevitable that there will be a still greater cleavage between the workingman and the employer before there can be a final adjustment; although in a general way I would say that the labor question will never be settled until the last day's work is done. I have no confidence in any kind of panacea that will for ever settle the labor problem.

We hear a good deal in these days in the United States about the comparative value of government by dynamite or

government by injunction. They are both wrong. The use of force of any kind, whether it be on the part of the employer or of labor—no matter how refined that force may be—is no better than the employee's use of dynamite for the solution of the industrial problem. By what process of reasoning can thirty-eight normal American workmen—for they were normal, and not degenerates—persuade themselves that the use of dynamite is legitimate? When President Ryan, the man who received the severest sentence, was brought to the penitentiary and searched, there was found in his possession a Prayer-Book and razor, and that was true of some of the others in the group. I know some of them, for they were attendants at the services of the church. I cannot take time to discuss from the psychological standpoint their character, but it seems to me that our tendency to judge men indiscriminately without getting at the root of things is one of the causes of unrest among the great mass of people, who feel that they are being misunderstood. Of course, every man must recognize that the fight—for it is a fight—that is going on between Capital and Labor, is unpleasant. It is a war, and they both recognize it. You know something of the impersonal feeling with which men enter war, not because they hate the individual whom they are going to shoot if they can, but because of the principle in which they believe and which prompts them to go to war. Something like this dominates large numbers of workingmen in their fight against Capital—not that they hate the individual capitalist, but because they hate the system of which they believe themselves to be the victims. I can recall when I was down in that machine shop where I was a machinist for eight years. I went out on strike one day, and we lost the strike, and when I came back I found a great big Swede running my machine. Now I was an elder of the Presbyterian Church, and I was Sunday School Superintendent; but it took all the grace that God gave me to refrain from knocking that man's head off. Somehow you cannot get away from the human element in this industrial problem.

Then, too, with regard to this particular group of men, there was the utter hopelessness of their situation. They were wrong, of course, and I have no doubt that for some years some of their members had been doing unkind and cruel things. But, as a matter of fact—and I credibly informed that this is true—

the United States Steel Corporation has been strenuously opposing organized labor. It has been determined to put trade unionists out of business. The American Bridge Company was, I am informed, in some way related to the U. S. Steel Corporation, now known as the National Erectors Association. These thirty-eight men, who belonged to the Structural Iron Workers Society, saw that they were inevitably going to be swept off the face of the earth as an organization through the power of the U. S. Steel Corporation. They felt their hopelessness, and very foolishly attempted to intimidate other workingmen who took their jobs. Now of course it was foolish; it was worse, for it was criminal; but I want to remind you that organized labor as such did not endorse the actions of these foolish men. I have here, and I had intended to read to you, but have not the time, certain statements. However, as soon as these acts were committed and the McNamaras were convicted or when they confessed, the executive of the council of the American Federation of Labor came out in a four-page printed document in which they intimated as plainly as possible, that they had absolutely no sympathy with the tactics employed by the Structural Iron Workers or of the McNamara brothers. Then I have editorials published by trade union journals in which the strongest language is used to indicate that the leaders of labor were not in sympathy with that sort of thing. Did Mr. Gompers know about this before the men were convicted? I do not know. I asked some of the National leaders of the American Federation if they knew about it. One unionist with whom I am intimately acquainted, a man who is prominent in the Presbyterian Church in his town and a thoroughgoing Christian, when I asked him, frankly stated: "I do not know. I went to Los Angeles and talked with McNamara. He may have known in a vague fashion, but I have absolutely no proof, nor has anybody else. These men declare they are innocent, and what can we do in the face of it?"

I rather think there are some employers' associations harboring employers or others who are known to have committed acts of lawlessness: but I have yet to hear of these employers' associations repudiating the members guilty of these crimes. We have no right to expect these workingmen to have a higher ideal of action than we expect from many of their employers.

Here is the view of the Industrial Workers of the World—the I. W. W. as they are familiarly called—expressed in an article that appeared in “The Outlook,” written by a prominent preacher in the east.

“The I.W.W. leaves behind as hopelessly passed the methods of the American Federation of Labor, and is introducing into this country the ideals and tactics of European syndicalism. The programme of the new movement is clear-cut and confessedly revolutionary: no more organizations of wage earners by craft unions but all the workers skilled or unskilled, and of whatever trade gathered in one body for a mass movement; no more recognition of employers or agreements with them, but the declaration against them of an economic war, whose methods shall be determined by expediency only—‘Any and all tactics that will get the result’; no more contentment with a “a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work” as the goal of the wage earners, but a campaign for the ultimate transference of all the profits of industry from the employer to the laborer, until the wage system falls to pieces and the tool-users are the tool-owners. Such is the new programme. Every official in every local of the I. W. W. takes a pledge on his induction into office, whose closing words are these ‘I believe in and understand the two sentences:—The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Labor is entitled to all that it produces.’

“The I. W. W. therefore proposes Socialism, but its methods make men like Morris Hillquit seem reactionary. Said Ettor to me as we sat outside his cell in the Lawrence Jail, ‘They tell us to get what we want by the ballot. They want us to play the game according to the established rules. But the rules were made by the capitalists. ‘They’ have laid down the laws of the game. They hold the pick of the cards. We never can win by political methods. The right of suffrage is the greatest hoax of history. Direct action is the only way.’ The wage-earners’ revolt, partly born out of resentment at treatment to which human beings cannot with impunity be subjected, partly motived by a desire for economic gain, under conditions of living at times intolerable, was partly led by the definite and compelling hope that the laborers may some day own the tools and be the possessors of all that they produce. This is the Lawrence strike—the I. W. W. is simply the incarnation of that resentment, that desire for gain, and that revolutionary social ideal. All over Lawrence you hear of the transformation in the attitude of the workers. ‘We are a new people,’ said one; ‘we have hope; we never will stand again what we stood before.’ The attitude of the Conservative element in Massachusetts towards this rising spirit of the wage-earners and towards its revelation in the strike, is one of the most instructive aspects

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in the present situation. The nobility of France before the revolution could not have been more blind to the situation than some of the Bostonians. 'That strike should have been stopped in the first twenty-four hours,' said a Boston lawyer recently; 'the militia should have been instructed to shoot; that is the way Napoleon did it. The strikers should have been shot down. I stand for law and order.' What was said in France in 1790, 'Let the people eat grass' is fairly equalled by a lady in Commonwealth Avenue who owns stocks in the mills, and who revealed the verge of her social horizon in a curt summary of the whole matter: 'The strikers should be starved back,' she said. One of the leading citizens of Boston was asked whether he did not think that there was some moral question involved in the propinquity of twelve per cent. dividend to six dollars a week wages, and his answer was unhesitatingly:—'There is no question of right or wrong there; the whole matter is a question of supply and demand; any man who pays more for labor than the lowest sum he can get men for is robbing his stockholders. If he can secure men for six dollars and pays more, he is stealing from the company.' Against the background of this extreme apotheosis of the wage system, as the last word in social evolution, one comes to understand why the wage-earners' revolt is so often likewise extreme and bitter."

The folly of trying to settle the labor question by exterminating the labor unions does not seem to have dawned upon vast numbers of employers of labor. Labor unionism is a mere incident in the industrial revolution through which we are passing. You may exterminate organized labor in Montreal, but you will not have exterminated the labor movement. The agitator is not responsible for the labor movement nor for the spirit of social unrest. He is the product of that social unrest. He is merely one of the many manifestations of the radical tendency among workingmen to-day.

What is the cause of this radical tendency? I can just touch upon some of the leading things.

This radicalism is the penalty of progress. There are no labor troubles in Africa, but soon there will be. Labor troubles come as the result of our democracy. The public school system is responsible for it; your public libraries are responsible for it; your art galleries; your open forums; your lecture courses; the Church of Jesus Christ is responsible for it. We set up before these people a high idealism, and when they attempt to realize it and struggle towards that ideal, which means higher wages

and better conditions, shorter hours and more leisure, then we begin to repel and resist their progress. Of course it is not pleasant.

But here is the question: Who shall be the leaders of the people in this struggle towards this finer idealism? Shall it be that these unscrupulous agitators—call them what you please—shall become the leaders of the people in this fight for democracy, or shall it be a sane, fair-minded citizenship taking full knowledge of all the situation and determined to give an absolutely square deal?

There are other things of which I might speak. I am pretty thoroughly convinced that this radicalism in America is due largely to the unreasoning attitude of some employers' associations towards unionism. They profess to want good unionism; as a matter of fact they do not want any kind, and I can prove it. I am a trade unionist, a fairly good one, if you will pardon me for saying so. I do not advocate lawlessness, to which on general principles I am opposed: but as a matter of fact the Manufacturers' Association in the United States have tried to put me out of business. Why? Not because I stand for radicalism; for I am a conservative: but because I am a trade unionist. But in spite of all their activity, and at the expense of thousands of dollars and the subsidizing of the press and the secularization of the religious press, they have not created a ripple. I am not afraid of losing my job on account of the opposition of the president of the Manufacturers' Association of the United States.

Let us be fair; let us be honest. I want to say right here: either the interests of employers and employees are identical or they are not. If they are, then the workingman should be persuaded of it; if they are not, then as the Industrial Workers of the World are saying, "the sooner we find it out the better." The trouble of it is that the average employer of labor is expecting that in some mysterious way the workingman is going to settle it himself. Furthermore, this employer of labor is expecting the workingman to work out for both of them these economical problems, which the workingman is faithfully, though blindly, trying to do. A few employers are trying to help. We talk about Capital and Labor as though they were synonymous, as though their rights were equal. They are not

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equal. Capital represents money. Labor represents men. Capital represents vested interests and demands dividends. Labor represents flesh and blood and demands a living. Labor has always been more important than capital, and is entitled to greater consideration. Let us remember the big human element in this problem. Let us remember that these men, many of them, are fighting for their lives, and when a man is fighting for his life he sometimes does radical things. If he is wrong, persuade him that he is wrong, not simply by the use of the injunction. In studying the problem in practically every part of the civilized world, I have found that the workingman—the average workingman—is just about as reasonable as the average employer. It may be all right to use the injunction sometimes; but through the spirit of brotherhood and co-operation and reasonableness much more may be accomplished.

[January 20th, 1913.]

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE RESOURCES AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER
Minister of Trade and Commerce.

I AM here to give you a little information with reference to the Dominions' Royal Commission, and the first question I am going to answer is as to why there is such a Commission. It started into work based on taking the line of least resistance, which is said to be a favorite method with politicians and public men. Don't laugh at that, and don't damn statesmen and public men who take the line of least resistance. There is good authority. I do not know any mighty river which has not at last found the sea by taking the line of least resistance. I do not know of any great railway crossing the continent, or that has made its way through any large tract of country, unless obliged to take the line of least resistance. It has to do it. If it has not lots of capital funds, lots of borrowed money such as some we know of, then it has to give way to nature's law. Earthquakes do not do that sort of thing; but we are not much in favor of them in this or any other country.

In the Imperial Conference of 1911 they came face to face with some little questions that gave promise of being difficult of solution. They found on the agenda board resolutions from Australia and New Zealand marking out a policy which would settle at least in principle the question of inter-Imperial trade, with all correlated questions of production, freight rates, and imperial preference as a form of protection. Then the public men in that Conference followed the line of least resistance, and they came to the unanimous and delightfully harmonious agreement that they would appoint a Royal Commission which would take the whole matter of the resources and trade and pro-

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duction of the Empire, at least the organized parts of it, into consideration and examination, and should report their findings and suggestions thereon. That is why we got the Dominions' Royal Commission.

Who form that Commission? There are eleven on the Commission. Six were appointed by the Government of the United Kingdom, and one by each of the Over-Seas Dominions. That makes eleven in all. These gentlemen, with at present Sir Edgar Vincent at the head as Chairman, are doing work assigned them by the Royal Commission a little over a year ago. What is that Royal Commission expected to do? When you come to that, it would have been hard for the ingenuity of man to have invented anything involving more work, than was covered by the words of that resolution. I do not think Sir Wilfrid Laurier realised the amount of trouble he was going to give somebody when he advised this. It takes in the wide Empire to which we belong. Not satisfied with that, again following the line of least resistance, they had sundry resolutions in regard to that important question of migration, the transfer of populations in the Empire—whatever in fact they had not time to look into in that Council they left as a legacy to the Dominions' Royal Commission,—and that duty, a very onerous and comprehensive one, is also laid on our shoulders. First, there is the whole question of emigration from the United Kingdom out into the different parts of the Empire, particularly of the Overseas Dominions. Just to mention the subject, and think of what is going on here in Canada, without going to others of the Overseas Dominions, is sufficient to show you what an important question that is. The Empire may either bleed to death or starve itself to death. If the old Empire in the soul and heart of it allows its people in largely increasing or continuing streams to leave its own shores and its own Dominions and drift out into foreign and alien countries, it is bleeding the blood out of the Empire; not only out of the United Kingdom where it starts first, but out of the whole Empire, in so far as it does not find itself passing through the veins and arteries of the Overseas Dominions. Well, for years and years and years a stream of precious British blood, brawn, muscle, enterprise, skill in development and skill in working, has constantly poured out of the

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United Kingdom, and at first but a small portion of that went to parts of the Empire. Later, and just in very late years, the stream is directing itself more satisfactorily than formerly, and I believe that at the present time we have arrived at this state of affairs, that no more than forty per cent. of the British outflow is lost to the Empire. But I need not say that if even forty per cent. of that stream of valuable immigration is lost to the Empire still it is just about forty per cent. too much.

That question of migration is placed within the purview of this commission. They are to look at the source from which it comes, the quality, sex, adaptation and line of thought. They are to have something to see and examine into with reference to its location, with reference to its transport, with reference to its preparedness for the field to which it is directed, with reference to its reception when it gets to the field, its settlement after being received, and its general supervision; to note what the results are, and how to make the methods better if they need it. All this question of emigration from the United Kingdom to the Overseas Dominions has to be reported upon with suggestions for betterment. Up to the present time it has largely directed itself. Within the last six years a number of very excellent societies in the United Kingdom have taken upon themselves the duty of selection, to a certain extent of preparation, and to a large extent of supervision in transport, in settlement and after settlement in the Overseas Dominions; but we think that by something more than chance, something more than individual or society, means should be taken by which the stream of immigration, whatever it may be, can be wisely directed; and in quality, selection and settlement the best done that can be done.

In the next place this examination is to include the natural resources of the Overseas Dominions. We are to find out what they are at present. That is a large field to overtake, but what they are capable of being in the future is a still larger field, and one which will tax the energy and capacity of any commission, however able it may be. We are to give a view of what the natural resources of the Overseas Dominions are, to display it so that men can see it, and know what they have not known in the centre of the Empire, and what today they know to a very

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little degree, of the mighty resources of the Overseas Dominions. What are all these resources? Are there possibilities hidden in the way of natural resources that are susceptible of further development? One constructive thing that can be done for the Empire is to shake the insular Empire out of its apathy and ignorance of what there is in the Overseas Dominions. The great mass of the people of the United Kingdom have no adequate conception of the natural resources outside. Consequently, they are not fitted to view the Empire from an Empire standpoint as well as they should be, and as well as is necessary if the Empire is to do the best that is to be done.

The next thing to be done is to inquire into the requirements for food and manufacturing. I put it all under the item of food requirements. What are the food requirements and possibilities of the Overseas Dominions? How much of it now comes from the Overseas Dominions, and how much can be given twenty, fifty, one hundred years hence; or some time long after when the capabilities may be fully developed? Then there is the food for the animal. There is also the food for the great manufacturing industries of the Empire. All require food, but the body of the manufacturing industries far surpasses all of these. It is a most immense maw into which there is being shovelled, elevated and shunted an almost unimaginable amount of food, which it works up and out. These three points are of great importance. England imports from foreign countries \$340,000,000 worth of cotton. Is there a possibility in the near or distant future that within the Empire itself cotton can be grown sufficient to supply that great body of the cotton manufacturers? Great Britain pays out about \$290,000,000 for wheat, and wheat flour from foreign countries. Is it possible that within this Dominion there is land sufficient, and that within a fair number of years it may be so developed that it will supply the food required in the way of wheat and flour for the central part of the Empire? And so with all things imaginable that go into the great manufacturing processes, is it possible in this Empire of ours by diligent search, examination and experiment, and an equally diligent and enterprising development thereafter, to secure the major part of that demand and supply it out of the Empire itself? That is the question which is relegated to this Commission.

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They are also to inquire into the production, manufacture and distribution of every article of commerce within the Overseas Dominions. Now, that is a task which might well tax the energy and confidence of any body of men, I don't care how they may select them. What is being done in production, manufacturing and distribution of every article of commerce in the Overseas Dominions with the British Empire, and with foreign countries? All that has to be examined into. The data and facts as nearly as they can be got, have to be got together. That is a comparatively easy matter. The difficulty is so to display them, so weed out what would confuse, and display what would be luminous, as to make it effective. Not only have we to ask what is now going on, but in what way can facilities for production, manufacture and distribution be increased? Then we can go a step further and look into the trade of the Overseas Dominions between themselves, between them and the United Kingdom, and between them and foreign countries, and we are to point out not only what that trade is, but we are also to find out where there are any hindrances to this trade, these distributing processes; and then we are to suggest not only how these hindrances may be overcome, but how helps may be given towards that great work, and generally to make suggestions with reference to the improvement and extension of trade. Now, gentlemen, I think you will say that will give this Commission work enough to keep it going for a long time. My fear is not that we shall not assemble very much material, but that we shall find it an almost impossible task to co-ordinate the information we get and so display it that it will not be unwieldy, insufficient, of a kind to weigh down and encumber a subject without illuminating it.

We are in one respect barred. We are to look into these things, but in regulations and in laws and in everything of that kind we are not to have very much to do with fiscal policies. We are debarred from examining into, for instance, the merits of protection and free trade and the merits of the Imperial Preference and free trade or full protection. Now, this was a matter of criticism when the instructions were made public, and a good many thought that they cut the Commission off from its largest field of usefulness if it barred recommendations to the fiscal

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policy. I am of a different opinion, as there was, and is, a difference of opinion on this fiscal policy among the members of the Commission itself. If the Commission had undertaken this work with the idea that it was to put up a case either for or against any of these things, I think the tendency would have been in all examinations and questioning for members to ask for information each one in the line of his preconceived idea. Consequently, it would have entailed difficulty among ourselves, and it might have taken away from the weight which otherwise our work and recommendations would carry. This much is left to us, however, unhampered. We are to study conditions under Free Trade, under Protection and under the Imperial Preference. We are to put the facts of what has been and is going on now under these forms of legislation, thus leaving it to the prejudice or non-prejudice of the jury of the Empire public to say what shall be done in regard thereto. We do not detract in the least from the importance of the information we gather and the importance of the suggestions we may be able to make.

How do we do it? We have three different ways. We make use of all statistics that are available, and we have a number of men digging out of this what we want that is pertinent to the inquiry. This work is going on all the time in all the Overseas Dominions and in the United Kingdom. Then we get experts of experience in various lines of activity, and we ask them for special papers on special subjects, and we get very excellent information from that source; and we have hearings which we can make good use of if any of these statistics need explanation and give us difficulties. For the purpose of illustration and information, we summon before ourselves in all the different countries gentlemen who can give us information on all these different points. We examine them before the Commission, and get from them informally around a table all the information we can with explanations, sidelights, and anything we can possibly get from them.

We have spent about three months in the United Kingdom, we are due in Australia and New Zealand; after that three months in South Africa, and, after that (maybe before), we shall spend three months in the Dominion of Canada. Everywhere we have

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one other source of information, that is, not only what we gather but what we absorb. It is almost impossible that eleven men who have their pores properly open should go through all that, for about four years without absorbing the atmosphere of these different parts of the Empire, and getting a deal of valuable matter that you cannot get by way of statistics or learned papers.

The next point after the methods is, what is it that is being aimed at? It is to enable the men of the Empire to visualize that Empire. Come, now, suppose I ask anyone of you to stand up and tell me what you know of Australia, how many of you would know much of it? If I went to Australia and asked about Canada, who there would pass a first-class examination on that? So through all the Dominions, and so through the United Kingdom. When you can bring the Empire itself, as it has been brought, to think the matter of so much importance as to appoint a Royal Commission, formed by representatives from the various parts of the Empire, and give them four years of time to make these examinations and to gather this information, it centres public attention upon it. It has the establishments of Empire under which to work, the forces of Empire behind it, and it will be the object to allow the Empire as a whole to appear in some adequate manner through all its findings.

Now, I have been speaking entirely of material things. What will happen as a result of that information, and of that additional interest which will be aroused as a result? What is hoped for is the opening of some efficient organization for the development of the Empire. We have immense assets, but how little of it is being developed, and what a large proportion of it is entirely unorganized! You have forty-five millions of people in the United Kingdom well organized, although it may be questioned if they are organized on the right lines or not. You have fifteen millions in the Overseas Dominions fairly well organized, but with an immense amount of absolutely undeveloped territory and undeveloped resources. That makes about sixty millions of people of organized British or correlated stock; but the British Empire as far as the United Kingdom is concerned lies upon 121,000 square miles of territory. The Overseas Dominions with a population of about 15,000,000 have a territory

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of somewhere near 6,500,000 square miles. Then, outside of the Overseas Dominions and the United Kingdom, you have some six or seven million square miles in the dependencies and outlying parts of the Empire. How little of it is organized, and how little of it is developed! Isn't it practical, national, imperial, common sense to develop your own estate first before going around trying to develop other people's estates? If all the British capital that has gone into foreign countries had been centred in the different parts of this vast, undeveloped estate of the Empire, and had so been concentrated for the last fifty years, what a different tale there would have been to tell! They say, do you find fault with the capitalist for putting money into a foreign country? It is good for the capitalist if he makes a good investment, but if he would make an investment in the Empire it would not only be good for the capitalist but it would be good for the Empire as well. Take the illustration I gave you before. Suppose that it is possible, and it is absolutely possible, that all the wheat and flour necessary to feed the Empire can be developed within the Empire itself, and that Empire capital is diverted towards that development. There is about \$290,000,000 which the United Kingdom pays to foreign countries for the wheat and flour necessary to feed the Empire; that could be used to develop Empire ground and territory, and can anyone think of what an impulse that would give to the Dominions' development? What a call to the farmer in the development of his agricultural lands! And of what great use would the \$340,000,000 paid out by the United Kingdom to other lands for cotton be if expended entirely for cotton in the Empire! If it is only possible, and it is not impossible, that the greater part of the cotton should be produced within the bounds of the Empire itself, do you see what an immense leap forward it would be if that cotton could be raised and paid for, and the capital necessary for its production be raised within the Empire itself! And so on with all the resources. The thing for the Empire as trustees for the mighty estate which it holds, is to see that its undeveloped portions are developed with its capital, its enterprise, its skill; and that its man power goes into the Empire, in so far as it can possibly be directed. What makes a nation strong? Its pride, its army organizations, big ships, big guns? They do, but behind it all must be man

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power. Otherwise your guns, your ships, your army organizations amount to nothing. It is the man power that makes a nation or an Empire strong. Nationally considered, imperially considered, should we not look to the development of our own people, lands of our own people, and those who can be brought to cast in their lot with us because we are doing not only material good but national good? Once developed, once guaranteed, the Empire will be so strong that it will be the guarantee of world peace.

I have spoken to you almost entirely of material development. After all, what is it this material development? A man follows it with strange avidity when he is young, and when he is older his avidity grows up to the last tottering years when he has entwined his whole being in the making of money and the pursuit of enterprise. After all that man gets out of it aside from the joy—and there is a joy in meeting difficulties, overcoming them, in bringing the barren into the estate of the fruitful, in bringing the undeveloped into the state of the developed,—after all that, the material development of the human estate as the world estate is only justifiable on the ground that it contributes to the happiness and the sanity and the health and the civilization, and the moral and mental fibre of the human race. So that what is aimed at in the Commission is not only to increase the area of development and enterprise, of physical and material wealth, of physical and material gain, but it has two greater purposes. One is, by manipulation of these things in a sane and Christian and civilized way, to make the men and women of the locality, the nation, and the Empire in which these great developments material and physical take place, better. And it is in addition to that, to go upon the faith that is in the breast of all of us, that there is no Empire in the world, no system of political government in the world, however excellent, which is quite as well fitted in its world-wide situation, in the principles upon which it has been founded, and in the experience upon which it has worked as the great British Empire itself. We do not disparage the enterprise of the people to the South of us, and their civilization and their tremendous success and their good features. Neither do we those of the French republic nor of the German Empire. It should be with all of us, and it is with all of us,

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to share in rejoicing at every step forward on right lines that every nation in the world takes, because it makes the world better; and it gives us not only experience, but it puts us on our mettle and gives actual help in making our own nation better. But if we are British people and believe in British civilization, British justice and government, we are bound to maintain that it is the finest and best mechanism in the world today to work out the betterment of that human estate, and so the benefit of the world as a whole.

[January 24th, 1913.]

THE HEALTH CONSCIENCE

By DR. W. A. EVANS

Chief of the Health Department of the Chicago Tribune

I WANT to assure you of the pleasure it gives me to be here today and to talk to you gentlemen, who represent the brains and energy and push of Montreal, on the general subject of health and the necessity for a developed health conscience; recognizing that if I am successful in interesting you, I may be helping a movement for the betterment of the health conditions of Montreal, without assuming to speak in any way of those conditions in view of the fact that I am not acquainted with them. As I came along on the car this morning there were two thoughts that rolled through my mind. As I looked out of the window and saw your country covered, though I understand less covered than usual, with snow, this is the line of thought that I engaged in. In view of the fact that Winter time is normally the wet time, and the level of the moisture in the soil is the level of the ground water rising until it reaches the top of the soil and even comes above the top, I thought that there is much gained by living in a climate where, by reason of the cold, that wetness is converted into dryness, and that you gain, perhaps, more than you have any idea of by living in a clime where your cold season is not your wet season; for cold and wet is a combination that does not make for human comfort or for human welfare. This was overshadowed by my next thought, and that was that a cold climate is so far as practical affairs are concerned a warm clime. A greater part of our time is spent indoors, and particularly is that true in a climate that is severe. More than half of the total hours of our day life is spent within the walls of rooms, and however cold it may be on the outside you are living in Summer conditions within these walls. As a matter of fact people go South in the Winter not for the purpose of getting warm, but for the purpose of getting cold. They go

South by reason of the fact that there the rigor of the climate is so slight that they can be outdoors rather than in, and being out-of-doors they are in an atmosphere that is colder than the indoor air temperature of Montreal. And that drove me to the next point, and that was this, that in a clime such as this your people are impelled by considerations of comfort and considerations economic to breathe air which on the average is fouler than the air breathed by people in warmer climes, to be associated more closely together—and that includes the association between the sick and the well—than in other climes where in the Winter more time is spent out of doors. In consequence of these considerations, I am prepared to believe the statement made by your Chairman just now, a statement that your mortality from consumption here in Canada and in Montreal, is unduly high. That to right-thinking people does not mean that there is reason for allowing it to remain unduly high. I trust that you have got this point clearly in mind that the existence of conditions that are bad amongst right-thinking people is not a reason for lesser effort to correct that condition, but is a reason for greater effort to correct it; and if it is as has been stated by your Chairman that the infant mortality—the percentage of babies that die in the first year of life as compared with the number of babies that are born,—is high as compared with the percentage of other nations, then that does not constitute a reason why it should remain a stigma on Montreal; but to you right-thinking people it rather constitutes a reason for greater activity and for more earnestness. In the old days when from lack of knowledge it was not possible to correct conditions that were bad, there may have been reason for fatalism, but in this day of achievement, in this day of diffusion of information, bad conditions should rather act as a whip to spur us on to greater endeavour that these conditions may be corrected.

And now, gentlemen, the subject I am to discuss in your presence today is the "Health Conscience," and you understand, I am sure, quite as well as I that when anyone announces he is going to talk about conscience that he announces he is going to scold. It is, I am sure, in the line of your experience in times past that there is not any escape from a scolding when this as a subject is announced. It is, I believe, accepted that when a man announces "Conscience" as the subject for his dissertation,

he virtually announces that in his judgment there is need that something should be done, and that in his judgment you are the people to do that something.

And now, the consideration of a Health Conscience implies that there is a health problem, and to that I will speak briefly; use as an illustration of that problem the disease, consumption. The figures are so frequently used that there is scarce need that I should repeat them here, and I will not dwell upon them at any length. About one hundred and fifty thousand people in the United States die from this disease every year. It follows by reason of the average length of illness of the disease that about half a million people in that country are constantly affected with consumption. That means that about 1.180 of the entire population of the country is tuberculous at all times, and in all probability the figure that applies to the United States applies with equal exactness to the Dominion of Canada. It has been estimated that the cost of consumption runs into millions of dollars. It has been estimated that it has cost Chicago \$25,000, 000, and various estimates of varying degrees of valuation have been offered. One of great interest is that by Glover (of the Department of Economics of Michigan University) made to the Secretary of the Department of Health of Maryland on the price paid for consumption. Perhaps that valuation, which is most frequently quoted, is that of Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale University. Perhaps some men are inclined to believe that because there is a great difference in some of these figures that no value attaches to any of them. That difference arises from the fact that there is no proper actuarial method for determining the cases of consumption, and therefore the best estimate that can be made is but a guess, shrewder perhaps than the guess of another man, but yet only a guess.

Another illustration of the problem is the problem of typhoid fever, which destroys about thirty thousand lives in the United States each year, a preventable disease, a disease the principles of the prevention of which are so thoroughly understood that it is held as a stigma for a community to have a high typhoid rate. It is to be held a measure of that community's conscience, a reflection upon the intelligence of the sentiment in a community to have a high typhoid rate.

I cite one more illustration along the particular disease line, and that for another purpose, and that is smallpox. At the present time we know full well that there should be no smallpox. That is generally accepted and generally believed. It is generally held that when a community has a high smallpox rate that that community is disgraced, but that is not my reason for referring to it today. I have rather selected it as an illustration by reason of the opportunity it offers to present the difference between the two lines of procedure, the two methods of handling diseases, and perhaps I can make my meaning as clear by a comparison as otherwise. That comparison is with the Fire Department or with the control of fire rates in a community. We can control the rate of destruction of property in a community by providing for fireproof construction, and by passing laws that demand that any building shall be constructed along lines laid down as fireproof construction. We can supplement this method by maintaining an adequate Fire Department for the purpose of controlling such fires as originate in spite of fireproof construction. We have two methods of controlling smallpox. Smallpox hospitals with inspectors and vaccinating corps and other members are comparable with the members of the Fire Department, but an infinitely better method from the standpoint of economy and from the standpoint of efficiency is fireproof construction, namely, building in times of peace to the end that there may not be an uncoming of war, and that is to be done by universal vaccination.

And now, using the birth rate and the death rate as a further illustration of the problem of the Health Conscience, I would that some of you would interest yourselves in this matter to read Newsholme's book on "The Declining Birth-rate," or a chapter of Havelock Ellis's "Task of Social Hygiene," that has to do with the solution of this question. There will be peace and satisfaction of mind for you in whichever group you are, whether you are of those who are agitated by reason of the fact that there is quite a wide and general decrease in the birthrate; or whether you adhere to the doctrine of Malthus and believe that part at least of the high cost of living results on the increased density of population. In whichever group you are you will find satisfaction. You will find that your fears will be allayed by studying these careful analyses of the relation between the birthrate and

the death rate. But in spite of a proper consideration for this point of view, the great problem of the century is the child. We are coming now to measure the civic conscience, the community intelligence by its infant mortality rather than by its typhoid deathrate. By that yardstick at the present time we are determining whether men are answering, and answering rightly, the query, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Then there is the problem of defects in childhood, and that is but a phase of the great problem of bringing men and women up through childhood to manhood and up to womanhood in a high state of efficiency. We who are in the Health Department are often accused of keeping the public mind centred on disease and disaster. It has been said that rather than preach the doctrine of sewers that we should preach the doctrine of health, and I would that there was some way in which there might be found a change in text, but, unfortunately, up to the present the only books that are kept are kept in the name of disease. And in consequence, the only way in which we can speak with courage and authority is by telling of what disease does, and arguing therefrom what would be the gain if disease were ended. The problem is not a problem worth while unless there is with it a chance of dissolution of the conditions that make it a problem. It is infinitely worth while because of all the things that protect civilization today, none is more valuable to it than the work done by the health movement. None means more nor paints a brighter picture than does the opportunity that is now offered for better conditions by reason of a better health plan. Now, an illustration, or two or three to prove that statement. Twice in Chicago's history has the destiny of that town been threatened by disease. In the middle fifties it appeared that there could not be an Empire city there at the foot of the Lake. Glacial ice moving from the Northwest Southward had dug out of the ground a great reservoir which had filled with water. That great reservoir of water had diverted the trade of the West, wheat and cattle, to that unique point at the foot of Lake Michigan. The intelligence of man and the imaginations of men told them that there at the foot of Lake Michigan there was destined to grow an Empire city. Men heeded that call, and from all parts of the world they came, leaving firesides and friends and families, searching the opportunities that lay there in that future

Empire city; but between that city and this dream there stalked the demon of disease, and around there in the middle of the fifties they held a mass meeting such as you might well hold in Montreal. They resolved that there by the Lake where breezes blow, it was not natural or necessary that disease should abide, that while it was there it was not there because God had put it there, but because man by neglect had developed it. They did not stop at resolving. They determined to raise the life of that city, and they carried out that determination—extensive drainage works were inaugurated, and that plague spot at the foot of Lake Michigan became one of the healthiest cities in the world, and became one of the best and most successful trading Ports of the world. It became one of the World's best illustrations of development along commercial lines. Once again, twenty years ago, the death rate from typhoid fever in Chicago was as high as 175 per 100,000 living. People were afraid to go to Chicago, afraid to undertake to raise families in Chicago. It seemed that again a spectre came between that people and the Sun of their hope. They spent \$60,000,000 to provide a proper disposal of their sewage and protect their water supply, and as a result it has dropped down from 175 until it is but 8.

Another illustration that I may give is of smallpox in Germany. Do any of you remember when trade was stilled, when commerce was paralyzed, in Germany as a result of smallpox? Now it is practically eliminated by vaccination.

I may cite another illustration. A short while ago France undertook to take the canal across the Isthmus of Panama. They thought it feasible because the science of engineering had been developed enough so that they could see no insurmountable difficulty in engineering; but they were in advance of their times, all the same because the development of hygiene and sanitary engineering had not gone hand in hand with the development of other types of engineering. The principle of Pasteur had not spread from the University halls down among the general run of people, and in consequence of that immaturity France failed in her undertaking. The United States came to the task, and in 1913 they are finishing the digging of the canal. They have dug it with a mortality rate that is lower than the mortality rate of the City of Montreal, that is lower than the mortality rate among workers of the same age and occupations in the City

of Chicago, when proper allowance is made for the high accident rate of the City of Chicago. They have dug the canal, it is true, but they have done a thing of infinitely greater consequence. They have rolled back the bar of climate from before the white man, and done away with the limitation hitherto placed on the white man and white workers in the hotter parts of the Earth. They have demonstrated the fact that to the South of the United States there lies a land of new promise and new hope. They have done more than that. They have demonstrated that when men tackle the health problem with conscience and with intelligence that they are enabled to guarantee results, to guarantee them with the same accuracy and the same certainty that engineers are able to guarantee results when they undertake a problem.

Just one further illustration, and I am done along this line. I speak now of London, great, grimy, smoke-covered, fog-enveloped London, grown up in an age when people thought not of the limitations placed upon a community's life. London tackled its problem, and stood by it, with the result that the death rate of London for the last five years has averaged lower than the death rate of any large city in the world. So, gentlemen, the problem of the public health gains importance by reason of the fact that it is a solvable problem, by reason of the fact that it involves no elements of magic, by reason of the fact that it is grounded on the principles of sociology, in the principles of scientific government, and consonant with the principles of the Christian religion. It is a problem that can be met most successfully whether it be attempted in Montreal or in Chicago or in London.

And now, I think, it will help us to gain a better conception of this question if we discuss for a moment the attitude of those who oppose the proper community activities for the control of disease. I am sure that if you go from this meeting with a stimulated conscience, with a heightened sense of duty towards this problem, you will presently encounter some individual who will say that the community has no right to interfere with the liberties of the individual. What are the facts? The facts are these. When man lives isolated and alone there is possible for him a line of behavior perfectly within his rights, easily within the range of his liberties, which is not within his rights, which is not within the range of his liberties when he has associated

himself with other men. The very fact of juxtaposition constitutes a new set of relations, so that what would have been liberty then now becomes license. As a result of the community life there are gained larger opportunities for action in the gaining of wealth, for manufacturing and for trading, larger opportunities for the development of art and music, for painting, for joys and pleasures as well as the opportunities and duties of life, but we cannot have them without paying the price, without surrendering some of those things which were liberties when a man was isolated and alone. When men come together, by reason of their association there is created a potential harmfulness of the individual for his neighbor, but the man is the same whether in the country or in the city. That which makes the difference is the incoming of the community relation. The conditions are positive. They are not negative. The man has become more dangerous to his neighbour than when that neighbour was separated miles from him. The conditions, as I have said, are positive. The things that are working for the harm of the community are working there day by day, ever present and ever active. We seek to deprive men not of their liberty, but rather to end those things which deprive men of their liberty, to the end that there may be freedom. One illustration of that. Cuba could not trade in the markets of the world prior to 1898 in certain seasons of the year because of the danger in Cuba to other nations from Yellow Fever. We went there—restraining in a certain sense the liberty of the individual of Cuba, but in another sense rather restraining the license of Cuba,—we struck from Cuba the shackles of Yellow Fever, and gave her freedom to trade at all seasons of the year in all the markets of the world.

And now, gentlemen, what is the health conscience? The health conscience implies first that a man understands his duty to himself, to his family, and to the community. It implies something more. To know is not enough. It implies that those who know shall exert themselves to the end that those who do not know may know. Ours is a government by the people, and that means government by something a little above the average intelligence of the people. The health conscience means that a man shall discharge his duty not only to those who sit around the board with him, but to those who have not had the same

opportunities for education and enlightenment that he has had. Two hundred years ago William Hunter established the fact that there was no such thing as maternal impressions in the ordinary sense of the word, that the experience of the mother during pregnancy could not mark the body of the child. That information has been available for two hundred years, and yet during that two hundred years thousands of women have worried through their pregnancy period lest their child should be marked. What good did it do that William Hunter and his grade of men had this information if there was no proper public conscience to spread it out among the people who in the last analysis must determine the usefulness of that opinion? Then Mendel, the Austrian, worked out the principles of proper breeding, a principle that must properly be worked out if the human race is to be saved. Mendel wrote, and the writing was buried on library shelves and covered by the dust, and remained unuseful and unused for a quarter of a century until Darwin found a method for it to flow from the laboratory and library out into the popular channels. Erasmus Darwin himself wrote on the effect of environment on the individual, but it remained almost unrecognized except in scientific, University and learned circles. Charles Darwin caught the public eye with writings on the influences of environment on individuals. Just now the practical application of all this is being found. I invite your attention to the fact that any proper planning for the community must comprehend something more than planning for boulevards, for parks, for statues and for monuments. Go back to Greece, read the "Republic" of Plato, read of Athens, of Pericles, and you will find running through the warp and woof of it all recognition of this fact that no planning accomplishes results save as it plans to benefit the lives of individuals of the community. Plan for a better inheritance, for a better environment, plan that information may flow from the laboratories of McGill down into the alleys and byways of the common people of Montreal. If you can bring this about, you can have no better manifestation of the Health Conscience here in your city.

[February 3rd, 1913]

HOUSING EVILS AND THEIR CAUSES

BERNARD J. NEWMAN

Secretary Philadelphia Housing Commission

ON Monday, Feb. 3, 1913, Mr. R. L. H. Ewing, President of the Club, presided, and after the luncheon, introduced His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the Governor-General of Canada, who was received with cheers.

The Chairman said: We are singularly honored to-day by the presence of H.R.H. the Governor-General, who, with that characteristic kindness which has endeared him to the Canadian people, consented to attend one of our usual meetings expressing the wish that we would not make any special preparations. I am sure we greatly appreciate the interest His Royal Highness has shown in the Canadian Club movement. May I express our gratification that Her Royal Highness the Duchess is now convalescent and express the wish that she may soon be restored to good health. I am sure I echo the opinion of every one here when I say that we wish them both well on their visit to the Old Country and that they will be welcome back. I ask you all to fill your glasses and drink to the health of His Royal Highness.

The members then rose and gave three cheers and a tiger for the Duke. The Governor-General acknowledging the toast, said: Mr. President and members of the Canadian Club of Montreal, I assure you it is with a very great pleasure I find myself amongst you to-day. Your president, in the kind words which came from him told you of the great interest I have taken in these clubs since I have been in Canada. So when I come amongst you I feel myself in congenial surroundings. I congratulate you on the very excellent work these clubs are doing in the Dominion. They gather people of all classes and creeds to meet frequently during the season and to listen to excellent

lectures, not only from Canadians, but from people from foreign countries; and we are glad to see here to-day a distinguished American who is going to speak to us on a subject which I am sure is of the very deepest importance in Canadian cities as it is throughout the world. I desire particularly to thank you, sir, for the very kind reference to the Duchess. She is hardly convalescent yet, but I hope she will be shortly. I would like to take this opportunity to assure you how deeply both the Duchess and myself feel the general sympathy and kindness that has been shown us. I can assure you we shall never forget during our lifetime how kind you have all been and the friendly manner in which you have received us. I hope my leave will not keep me long in England, and that I may be with you again in the summer. I thank you again many times for the kind reception you have given me.

Most of us know very little about the problem of housing. We should not have the slum on this side of the water. Within reach of the centre of our cities we have vast untrdden areas. We have people who came over to make themselves homes, who have the courage to go into the unknown field, who take their future in their hands and try to make something more of themselves. They come here with that stuff in them that is the making of successful men. We have the land, the open country, the men with imagination and hope and courage. Yet what do we find? We have slums that outrival those of the most densely populated cities of the continent. We have slum conditions that are as bad as in any city of the world. In a new land that should be the best we have in spots the very worst. To justify that, let me state what I have in my mind about the man who earns \$9 or \$10 a week. That man should be able to live anywhere in Canada or the United States in his own little home. He should have his kitchen, his living room, his two bedrooms. He should have sanitary conveniences within the dwelling, and all at not more than \$10 a month rent. It can be done, for it has been done time after time. It should be possible that in every part of every city the workingman could be so housed. Go into any city of this continent and you will

find men, women and children who should have a decent home living in crowded tenements, where 33 or 40 families are housed in crowded tenements, where they use the common entry and oft-times the common conveniences. In new buildings this may not be so bad, but in old buildings which at one time housed the rich you find the worst conditions. Only this morning I went round your city. Where I saw a house that had the earmarks of the slum, we stopped and went in. What did I find? Stairs that had once been trodden by rich men and women; yet there were whole families living in single rooms—in some, eight beds in a room: rooms without windows, rooms where the plumbing was defective and the floor was covered with filth. Families with six or nine children occupied three rooms; in the house built on the rear lot—and you have many of them. I hesitate to say what I have seen here, lest I be thought to be discrediting your city. I went in to one property here and found something I had never seen before: I saw toilets, old open toilets, seven of them in one narrow little court surrounded by houses occupied by ten families. These are the earmarks of bad housing, but insanitation develops because people are not educated up to the point where they understand what sanitation is, and how vital it is to the health and morals of their children. It follows from the character of these dwellings that you can have no real sanitary inspection here. There are some very foul conditions that have been accumulating in some of your little back streets. These conditions react upon the people of the neighbourhood and upon the community as a whole. Why have them? If you will ask the question of political economists, they will tell you that economic conditions cause them, and in a sense they are right. If you ask a number of tax reformers, they will say it is wrong taxation. Let tax reformers have their way, we shall still have those conditions; not quite so bad perhaps, but we shall have them because they are caused by more than bad tax systems. They are due to the one main cause that communities have not come to know themselves. The first essential to the development of character is to know thyself. Communities have no definite plan along which they are developing. There is a lack of foresight. They allow private improvements to grow more rapidly than public improvements. They allow houses to be built on lots before streets

are made or drains in. They allow streets to be cut into new areas before these streets are on the city plan. We have not to look far to see how the city is growing and it is essential to have direction in the planning of that development. What I mean is shown by the following. John Smith & Co. engage an expert on city planning and he decides that after the tunnel is cut through the mountain, the city will grow in a certain direction. They buy a plan of the city, and cut through their streets so as to give them the greatest profit, not so as to do the greatest good to the community. By and by the city takes the streets over, and in 30 or 40 or 50 years, they will see the mistake.

What is foremost in my mind is what can be done to eliminate these evils, and to prevent them from recurring. I maintain that no community is living at 50% efficiency unless it is legislating these evils out of existence, and legislating also to prevent their recurrence. A step forward for the community is to see that there are placed upon the statute book laws to

- govern the erection of houses. First the community must formulate a definite plan of development. There must be a bureau of city planning and that must be charged with the work, of laying out future streets. That is the first step. Then there must be legislation covering the erection and construction and maintenance of dwellings. We should not be able to say that the interests of the private individual outrank those of the community. Not only have we got to regulate the construction, we have got to regulate the character so that no room can be built without a window to the outer air. You know that tuberculosis breeds in the dark. These rooms that have no sunlight are always resting places for disease germs. We must also regulate the occupancy, so that no room can have three beds occupied by six people. There must be a minimum standard of cubic feet, preferably 800, but not less than 400. Do you know you can go down St. Georges Street and find almost every house has a cellar in which people are living, paying \$10 or \$12 for dark rooms? You must remember that the children are born and develop there. You must have sanitary inspection. You cannot tell the health condition of the city unless you are sending men right into the homes. Even with that provision you cannot have healthy homes unless you do as His Royal Highness said in Winnipeg: teach the people to live decently. If you are

going to approach the problem, there must be no half measure. You are in the position of President Hadley. One day he arrived home from a journey and went to the bathroom, where he found the son of the house sailing a boat in the bath. He told him to leave, and the boy raising objections, had to be forcibly removed. The boy went into the street and told everybody he met: "President Hadley thinks he is going to take a bath." One lady asked him what he meant, and he replied "President Hadley thinks he is going to take a bath but he aint." "Why?" "Because President Hadley's son has the stopper in his pocket." You are in that position. You have the stopper and you can put it in the bath-tub or you can put it in your pocket. If you are like most communities, you will keep it in your pocket, but you will neutralise the purposes for which the bath exists.

Now we have got to get the business people of the city to know that it is to their interests commercially to give the people of the city good homes. Take the statistics. For every death in the community there is an average of 20 cases of sickness, and in every case of sickness an average of 20 days lost. New York has 25,000 preventable deaths every year. Philadelphia has 9,000 preventable deaths. Multiply that by 20 and your result by 20 and see how many working days are lost. The brain is useless if you have not the motive power. Take the money they should have earned out of circulation. That is a great loss to the community looking at it purely from the commercial side. Then take the amount contributed by private charity. Governor Hughes, speaking in the city of New York, once said: "Increase your contributions as you will, you will never overcome poverty so long as you allow the conditions to exist that create the victims."

[February 10th, 1913]

HUDSON BAY AND ITS RELATION TO MONTREAL

F. H. CLERGUE.

THE lecture was illustrated by a map with diagrams, and at its conclusion a number of slides (lent by Professors Barnes and Porter of McGill) of icebergs showing the difficulties of navigation were shown on a screen, and commented on by the lecturer from his own experience of a recent trip made to Hudson Bay.

Taking up a pointer and indicating the map on the wall Mr. Clergue then began: I have produced a large scale map of Canada and Europe. The geographical positions are correct, but they have been transposed from the Eastern to the Western hemisphere. The object of this transposition is to indicate the relative dimensions of the European countries in which 150,000,000 of the most intelligent inhabitants of the globe reside. From this comparison you will be able to judge the possibilities of the unoccupied portions of Canada. The Ural mountains, the dividing line between Europe and Asia are level with Ungava. The dark blue line is the Trans-Siberian Railway, which never reaches a point as far south as James Bay. Here are Moscow, Stockholm and Archangel, the latter on the White Sea with a population of 40,000, while in the province of which it is the capital is a population of 450,000. In this town where there are only three hours of sunshine, they have colleges, shops, factories and mercantile occupations of all kinds. The commerce of the White Sea is open only four or five months in the year, and to enter it, the North Cape has to be passed. The nearest port of Scotland is 3,500 miles distant. This city was established by the British 400 or 500 years ago, and the Russians had a railway to it before Canada had one to the Pacific Coast. The commerce of that country is much more difficult than

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Hudson Bay. The indentation of the White Sea is the counterpart of Hudson Bay, except that the latter is so much bigger. Hudson Bay is salt water and contains the products of the sea. The fisheries are of course very valuable and it may be that they alone are sufficient to justify a railway. To show how rich are the fisheries of the White Sea the trawlers of Dundee in 1911 took 55,000 tons of fish in ships which had come 3,500 miles. The reason why these hardy and vigorous fishermen from Scotland had not attempted Hudson Bay is the difficulty of entering the Strait, but the fisheries once opened would be of a greater extent and more valuable than the White Sea. So great are these latter that Russia issued an edict last year declaring it a closed sea because it is only 12 miles wide at the entrance. The British, French, German and Japanese Governments protested and the edict was withdrawn. All the sea fish that were carried into England last year were 11,000,000 tons valued at \$55,000 delivered at the ports. The Hudson Bay fisheries are not yet available because of the difficulties mentioned.

The distance from Montreal to Hudson Bay is 3,500 miles, but one cannot make it with anything like the expedition we make in open water. When you get through the Strait the Arctic current contains icebergs in such quantities and flows so rapidly that the only way the ships can go is to go a long distance further. Ships constructed, designed and built for navigation in ice can go safely as far as injury to the ship is concerned, but no ship can overcome the delay on the voyage.

Fort Nelson, Fort Churchill, James Bay—delivery in these ports is safely possible for at least six months in the year, so that if these ports are made available by railway connection, all the fisheries of this sea will be made valuable for the Canadian and American market. I am speaking of the codfish, haddock, hake and halibut. There are other fish in large numbers. The mouths of these rivers are the spawning ground of the Arctic salmon. Those who have had the pleasure of eating it, will say that it is a salmon of the very finest flavor, like the small sized salmon of the St. Lawrence. In number they are so plentiful that ships can be loaded with them in very large quantities in a very short time. The salmon run as far as the mouths of the Nelson and Churchill, but they have not been found very

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far up these rivers. On the Ungava Coast the quantity of salmon is beyond calculation. There seems no reason why salmon canneries should not be established as successfully on Hudson Bay as in the Pacific Coast.

Whale fishery, which at one time was successfully conducted, here is probably gone for all time; but of fish not edible we have a large variety. Seals come down in large quantities. They have never been touched. Walrus and a small whale called the white whale, resembling the halibut only much larger, are plentiful. Eskimos depend a great deal on the white whale. The establishment of an oil refinery on the shores of James Bay ought to be successful. Another industry to which Hudson Bay will contribute is the increased fur trade. At the present time it is a monopoly of the Hudson Bay and one other company, which send their ships in once a year. The rivers are splendid fur raising rivers. The timber line does not extend very far. After that the foliage becomes a moss, but the rivers are well wooded and many of the fur-bearing animals prefer that region. There is a record of the Hudson Bay Co. having with four men in four months collected over 13,000 fox skins. There is no reason why with railway connection established between Montreal and James Bay, Montreal should not become the centre of the fur trade of America just as Nijni Novgorod is the centre of the fur trade of Russia.

The agricultural resources of course amount to nothing. The railway from Le Pas to Fort Nelson is expected to be finished in 1914. The main object of this railway is to enable this part of the country, which twelve or fourteen years ago was looking forward to the establishment of a port for the export of grain through Hudson Straits, to reach a market. At that time only a small section was open to grain culture: now it extends to Peace River. The object of that route was to rid Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton of the necessity of going by the St. Lawrence route. About 15 years ago the Government started to encourage the project by offering a land grant. For several years it remained open and no one availing themselves of the land grant, the Government proceeded, pressed by the western people, to build it themselves. I do not want to say anything to discourage the people of the north-west, but since I have had experience in Hudson Straits, it makes me believe that commer-

cial ships built for navigation only in ice free seas will never be able to conduct commerce in Hudson Bay. It is possible to run suitably constructed ships through Hudson Straits in part of the year, but it remains a problem of commercial calculation whether that prove a success or a failure. This railway will find its uses, and it may be a success all the year round by taking the freight via Montreal. You all know that at first it was intended that the railway should stop at Fort William and take commerce on the Lakes. It is proposed to use part of the same waterway through Hudson Bay that has proven so successful on the Great Lakes. It will tend to bring commerce to Montreal, just as the Great Lakes do. That route is not intended to be a competitive but an additional route. I think everybody will agree that what Canada really needs is not cheap means of communication but some means of communication. The western grower of grain is not dissatisfied because he has to pay two or three cents more, but because he cannot get his grain to the market. Tremendous congestion is caused by Lake Winnipeg just as congestion was caused at Chicago before the ports of Duluth and Fort William were opened. This route economises not only 600 miles of water and 1000 miles of rail, but economises almost the same in actual distance. Economically there is no doubt there will be a saving of 10 cents a bushel in transporting grain through from the Peace River to Montreal by this route. That certainly will secure enormous traffic, because it cannot be diverted. It is not subjected to the magnetic attraction of the American ports. Commerce coming this way has no choice.

[February 17th, 1913.]

JOSEPH HOWE

By EX-MAYOR CHISHOLM
(of Halifax)

IN 1851 in the legislature of Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe prefaced a graceful tribute in memory of his friend (then lately deceased), Herbert Huntington, by alluding to the custom in civilized countries of perpetuating the memory and recording the virtues of those who rendered eminent service to the State. That custom, he pointed out, was not confined to civilized countries, but was so deeply rooted that even among barbarous nations some rude cairn marks the spot where sleeps the warrior, whose voice was respected at the council—whose arm in battle was strong. Twenty years later, speaking in the centre of intellectual New England, he commended the wisdom of the nation or community which is not forgetful of its honored dead. One sentence, frequently quoted since, sums up admirably the theme which he then elaborated in his own spacious style. He said:—

“A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country, by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past.”

Those sentiments to which he gave expression in a general way may be applied to his own case; and in them will be found a justification of the course of the Canadian Club of Montreal in deciding to have an address on Joseph Howe, and perhaps some excuse for my attempt, inadequate though it be, to sketch the career of a man who for nearly half a century filled a large place in the life of his native Province. Joseph Howe is big enough to be considered a national figure in Canada, in spite of all the limitations and short-comings which unfriendly critics profess to discover or which his friends must acknowledge.

He stands out as the largest figure in the political annals of Nova Scotia. It has been charged against him that he went wrong on this question and on that question; that he gave offence, unnecessarily, at one time or another to every large religious body in the Province; that at more than one crisis, he cut himself off from his best friends. Yet the fact remains that to-day, nearly forty years after his death, his name has almost the significance of a symbol; his fame is as great as it was in the hey-day of his success, and Time, which plays havoc with reputations built upon weak foundations, has been kind to him.

I am well aware of the restrictions as to time under which I am to speak to-day, and that in the half-hour during which I crave your indulgence, it is impossible to give anything more than the barest outline of Howe's stirring career. One embarrassment which I feel arises from the abundance of material which confronts me. Howe himself has produced a wealth of material which has to be considered, and he has caused the production of material concerning himself by other men that cannot be lost sight of. The two volumes containing his Speeches and Public Letters extend to nearly 700 pages. There is an additional volume, now out of print, containing his poems and some of his essays. Mr. Justice Langley has written a sympathetic and interesting book on Howe, in the Makers of Canada Series, and the late Principal Grant, who showed so much of Howe's idealism, made Howe the subject of some vivid articles in the old Canadian Monthly.

The period between 1827 when Howe began his work as a newspaper editor, and the bright Sunday morning in June, 1873, when the people of Nova Scotia were shocked by the news that their Lieutenant Governor had passed away, is a long one in the lifetime of any public man; it was a period of unusual political activity, it saw vast changes wrought in the political institutions of the country; and to deal with his life-work and his time, adequately, requires hours when only minutes are available.

To draw anything like a complete portrait of the man, requires a skilful hand, time and patience. I do not make any claim to these qualifications. All I shall attempt to do, if you will permit me to use the expression, is to take a snapshot of him, and in the picture I hope you may discover the outlines of his figure and some of the lines of his countenance.

To understand what Howe was it is necessary to say a few words about his origin and the traditions of race and country which he inherited, about the political conditions into which he was born, how he was affected by the movements of his time, and how he in turn influenced those movements; with a few words also about his attitude in relation to some of the great questions of national import, the abiding questions which engage the attention of the public men of our day.

The name, Howe, is a familiar one in the history of the mother country. Several of the name won distinction in the country's service. Joseph Howe was himself of Puritan origin. Speaking at Southampton, England, in 1851, he gave an account of his origin, which may be taken as correct. He said:—

“During the old times of persecution, four brothers bearing my name left the southern counties of England and settled in four of the old New England States. Their descendants number thousands, and are scattered from Maine to California. My father was the only descendant of that stock who, at the Revolution, adhered to the side of England. His bones rest in the Halifax churchyard. I am his only surviving son; and, whatever the future may have in store, I want, when I stand beside his grave, to feel that I have done my best to preserve the connection he valued, that the British flag may wave above the soil in which he sleeps.”

The father was King's Printer in Nova Scotia, and at the time of his death in 1835 Howe showed his filial regard in a note in his newspaper.

The son of that father, the subject of my remarks, was born in 1804 in the family cottage on the banks of the North-West Arm in Halifax, and there he spent his boyhood days and acquired his great love for what was beautiful in nature, his love for the lakes and the woods, for the fields and the moving waters.

Before proceeding with my narrative of the man, permit me to say something of the political and social conditions of the country. For upwards of a century, the contentions between the two principal European nations for mastery on this continent disturbed the colony. Thrown by the fortunes of war from one nation to the other, conquered by England and ceded to France, it was by turns an English and a French colony. Finally, by the Treaty of 1713, the peninsula was ceded to Britain, and France retained the Island of Cape Breton with its fortified post

at Louisburg. England had a military station at Annapolis Royal. The warfare between France and England, however, was not yet over. The English settlers on Massachusetts Bay, who feared the French, urged the home government to establish a military and naval station on the Atlantic Coast of the peninsula, and towards the middle of the eighteenth century the government saw the wisdom of the policy and decided to establish on Chebucto Harbor a fortified town, which would at the same time form the nucleus of an English colony in the country. A notice was published in the *London Gazette* in March, 1749, calling for settlers and holding out as an inducement to them a promise to erect a civil government in the Province. It was represented that grants of land would be made to officers and men lately discharged from the Land and Sea service, and that the settlers would enjoy all the liberties, privileges and immunities which were enjoyed by His Majesty's subjects in any other of the colonies and plantations in America under His Majesty's government. It is to be remembered that very liberal charters had already been given to some of the colonies to the south, and that Rhode Island, for example, had substantially an autonomous system of government.

A Commission was issued by George II under his privy seal to Hon. Edward Cornwallis, an uncle of the Lord Cornwallis who surrendered at Yorktown, constituting him Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia, authorizing him to summon a council, not to exceed twelve, to assist in the government of the colony; and he was given full power, "with the advice and consent of the council, from time to time as need shall require, to summon and call general assemblies of the freeholders and planters according to the usage of the rest of the colonies." He was likewise empowered to erect courts of Justice. Cornwallis arrived in Chebucto Harbor, now Halifax Harbor, in June, 1749, with a fleet of thirteen transports and a sloop-of-war and 1,176 settlers. The town of Halifax was founded; the seat of government was removed from Annapolis Royal to Halifax; the Governor appointed his council, set up his Courts of Justice, and laid the foundation of the system of government under which, with some modifications, the people of Nova Scotia have lived to this day. He never called an assembly. The people soon demanded it as of right. After considerable agitation on the

part of the settlers, but principally on account of the opinion of Chief Justice Belcher, an able lawyer, to the effect that the ordinances promulgated by the Governor and his council had not the force of law, the Governor of the day reluctantly summoned the first assembly in 1758—an event which was of abounding importance, and which was suitably commemorated recently in Halifax. This assembly was not only the first representative assembly to meet upon what is now Canadian soil; but is the oldest representative assembly in the present self-governing overseas dominions of the King. The system of government set up was fundamentally the same as it is to-day—a governor, representing the Sovereign; an appointed council, which in those days performed executive and judicial duties, and an assembly elected by the people.

The early establishment of the English system of government, imperfect as it may have been in some particulars, had a far-reaching educational influence. It attracted to public life men of education, ability and ambition; men with a taste for affairs and a talent for administration were for generations called upon to take part in the public service; and the people generally, by the periodical elections, and by the discussion in the legislature, on the hustings and in the press, became familiar with that form of public government under which the mother country strode forward on her imperial way to greatness and to power.

One feature, however, of the colonial system of that time must be noted. The council sat behind closed doors, there was no separation of its executive and legislative duties, the bench and the church were represented in it, and the executive would not concede that they were responsible to the popular house. The members of the executive could and did remain in office after they had lost the confidence of the people's representatives. The non-recognition of the principle that the government must command the confidence of the people's representatives, gave Mr. Howe his great opportunity at a later date for the display of his powers as a popular tribune. The population of the Province at the beginning of the 18th century was mixed. The settlers were English, Scotch, Irish and French, with one district largely German.

Such were the conditions of the country when Joseph Howe was born in 1804. The son, as he stated, of a poor man, who was a Sandemanian in religion and probably a tory in politics, he began life with few apparent advantages. When only thirteen years of age he went to learn the trade of printer in the office of the *Royal Gazette*, of which his brother was the publisher, and he worked at his trade for ten years. When he was seventeen, he wrote a poem on Melville Island, on which the military prison is situated, and on its publication attention was attracted to the lad, and it is said that the Chief Justice of the Province complimented him on his political effort. He had great avidity for reading, and he set to work industrious to make himself familiar with the best English literature. He also practised his pen freely in both prose and verse.

At twenty-three he purchased a newspaper in partnership with a friend, and before the year was over he sold out his share and purchased another paper for £1,050, and in 1828 appeared before the public as the editor and proprietor of the *Nova Scotian* newspaper. In the period between 1828 and 1835, Howe not only edited the paper, but he made long journeys, many of them on horseback, throughout the Province, visiting every important settlement, becoming personally acquainted with the people, studying their conditions and wants, and establishing personal relations with them, which were, undoubtedly, of assistance to him when he entered public life. Under the headings "Western Rambles" and "Eastern Rambles" he published accounts of his journeys in the *Nova Scotian*. His regard for the plain people may be gathered from one of his newspaper articles in which he remarked:—

"We love, therefore, to be among the people to see them in their own fields, and by their own firesides—to catch their opinions—to trace their moods of thought—to mark the springs of action that stimulate to industry and the pleasures by which action is or may be crowned. With this view, we love to spend an hour by the broad lum, or at the cottage door—and there does not exist a log house in the land into which we would not bide for a while, certain of amusement and instruction."

He, also, in those years gathered around him a corps of able contributors, of whom Thomas Charles Haliburton (Sam Slick) and Lawrence O'Connor Doyle are now the best remembered.

In 1834 he made his first appearance as a public speaker in two addresses before the Mechanics' Institute in Halifax. One of these has been published and shows a wide knowledge of history and literature, and is replete with sound and intelligent ideas on literature, science and public affairs. One can find in it strong tokens of the glowing eloquence of which a year later he gave such striking evidence in the libel suit.

His great opportunity came, when, in January, 1835, he published an article in his newspaper reflecting on the magistrates of Halifax, and accusing them of misconduct. Although the article was not written by himself, he assumed full responsibility for it. He was promptly prosecuted for libel at the suit of the Attorney General. He applied to members of the legal profession for advice and assistance, and was told that the article was libelous, that he had no defence and had better plead guilty. He was not dismayed at this. He borrowed books on the law of libel, studied the law on the subject for a week, he spent some further time in collecting documents for use on the trial, and he decided to make his own defence. The trial was a trial at Bar; he admitted the publication of the article and proceeded to make his speech to the jury, which occupied six hours. The speech captured the jury, won for him a favorable verdict, and his position as a strong popular leader was securely established. The speech was reported in full in the *Nova Scotian* and was published in pamphlet form. It will be found in the first volume of his *Speeches and Public Letters*. It was a splendid forensic effort. The facts were admirably marshalled; the appeals to the feelings of the jury were shrewd. The speech contains passages of surpassing beauty and demonstrated that the young man of thirty possessed in a lavish measure the regal gift of eloquence.

Having established his reputation as a speaker, it is not surprising that in the year following he should be returned to the general assembly as member for the County of Halifax. In the house he immediately began the great struggle for responsible government which was crowned with success in 1848. This was probably the most fruitful period of his career. Hitherto the executive acknowledged no direct responsibility to the representatives of the people. They governed, whether or not they commanded the support of a majority of the assembly. Res-

ponsibility to the people was the watchword of the reforming statesman. The glory and value of the British constitution, he said, were not in the mace on the table of the Commons, or the Woolsack on which the Lord Chancellor sat; its great corner stone was responsibility to the people. In the press, in the legislature, in letters to the Home government, he pressed for the acknowledgement of those constitutional principles which were then firmly established in the mother land. His speeches at this time deserve perusal; they give a clear and convincing expression of the popular demand. And more noteworthy, perhaps, than any of his speeches, are the letters which in 1839 he addressed to Lord John Russell on the situation in Nova Scotia. With the exception of Lord Durham's Report, now so familiar to students of constitutional history, I know of no state paper dealing with the political relations which should subsist between the mother country and her colonies, which surpass or even approach those Letters in clearness of statement and strength of argument, or which better illustrate the constitutional demands of a liberty-loving people.

It is not necessary to follow Howe with much detail in this period. With tongue and pen, amid circumstances which were often discouraging and against influences which were always powerful, he maintained unfalteringly the fight for popular rights, until at last the champions of class and privilege were obliged to surrender.

From 1836 to 1855 Howe was continuously in the legislature. In the latter year he suffered defeat at the hands of Dr. Tupper, now the respected Sir Charles Tupper, who became thereafter his most formidable opponent in the Province.

On the question of education, Howe had strong views, and views which were open to controversy in his time as they are now. As early as 1841, he introduced a free school measure, but it was not passed, and the system of free schools was not established in Nova Scotia until Dr. Tupper introduced his legislation in 1863. In the matter of higher education, Howe favored a single non-sectarian college for the province. In his day Nova Scotia had, as she has to-day, more degree-conferring universities than Scotland. In the advocacy of his views on the college question he came in conflict with members of the Church of England, who had King's College at Windsor, with

the Presbyterians who conducted action at Norfolk, and the Baptists, who adopted Dulham. Strongly as he pressed his views he was unable to accomplish anything substantial in the direction he desired. In one of his speeches he said he knew the value of education from the want of it; and hence the deep personal interest he took in it.

Howe was fully alive to the importance of railway development. As early as 1851, he made a plea for the building of railways, from which a single passage may be referred to (Vol. II., p. 169-170) to show the statesmanlike qualities of his mind, the interests of his outlook and his surprising pre-vision. He was then advocating an inter-provincial line.

I shall pass over the period between 1851 and 1864, with a simple enumeration of a few of his activities. When war broke out in the Crimea, Howe, at the request of the authorities, went to the United States to recruit soldiers for the war. His action, although it had official sanction, was, I believe, a violation of the law of nations; at least that seemed to be the view of Mr. Gladstone, who spoke on the subject in the House of Commons, as it was of the Attorney General of the United States. Mr. Howe was obliged to fly the country; and the British Minister at Washington was, at the request of the U. S. government, recalled. Arising out of this matter, Howe had his quarrel with the Catholics—an unnecessary quarrel, a profitless quarrel, but one which nevertheless led to the defeat of the administration of the government of which he was a member.

In 1854, the question of Confederation was invited in the Legislation. Mr. Johnstone introduced resolutions approving of the Confederation of the British North American colonies. Howe did not support the resolution, but made a very long speech favoring the organization of the Empire in a comprehensive way. His scheme was later put forward in a pamphlet which he published in 1866, and to which I shall refer later.

In the elections of 1863, the Liberal government was defeated and Dr. Tupper was called upon to form an administration. A movement in favor of a union of the Maritime Provinces began, and it was decided to hold a conference with respect to the subject at Charlottetown. Mr. Howe, who had an imperial post in connection with the Fisheries, was invited to attend the conference, but he declined. When the conference met, delegates

from the Upper Provinces appeared and proposed a large union, and the conference was adjourned to meet later at Quebec. Howe was not invited to the Quebec conference, and, perhaps, that circumstance gave some vigor to his opposition later into the Quebec scheme. When he declined to go to Charlottetown, he had sufficient reasons of an official kind to prevent him. Besides, he did not look upon the conference as one which was likely to have important results. He had previously expressed himself, in a casual way, in favor of confederation; in the evolution of events he probably regarded it as inevitable. But the time for such a union and the terms of it were subjects upon which he probably deemed it unwise to hold inflexible views. At any rate he looked upon the Quebec scheme with great disfavor, and as one which would bear unjustly upon Nova Scotia. Mr. Goldwin Smith frequently spoke of confederation as being the child of deadlock, and Howe himself entertaining the same view he declared against it and said, with some bitterness:—"When Herod and Pilate coalesced, there was a sacrifice, and when Mr. Galt and Mr. Brown, after years of personal bitterness and malignant vituperation consented to clasp hands, it was with the understanding that the Lower Provinces, which had nothing to do with their disputes, were to be sacrificed to illustrate their conciliation."

The opposition to the scheme took definite form in Halifax under the leadership of some of the principal merchants. The division was not on party lines. Messrs. A. G. Archibald, Jonathan McGully and other leading liberals joined the confederate forces; Messrs. A. G. Jones, Andrew M. Uniacke and leading conservatives joined the anti-confederates. Mr. Howe threw in his influence with the latter, and by his agitation inflamed the Province into a white heat of passion. He argued that the people were being sold; that arbitrarily and without a mandate from them, the Tupper government proposed to alter the fundamental institutions of the country. It is due to the Confederate leader, now the venerable Sir Charles Tupper, to say that it is understood that his personal wish was to have a popular mandate before introducing his resolutions favoring confederation, but that by a small majority it was otherwise decided in caucus. The result of the first election in 1867 was that the Confederates were completely routed. The opponents of confederation pressed for repeal, were able to carry the Prov-

ince, but they were quite unable to alter the policy of the British government on the subject. When Howe saw that further agitation was useless, that it was mischievous, he was driven to accept the situation. Tupper long foresaw that he would be driven to that position. They met in London as members of opposing delegations, and Tupper asked him what course he would take if the British parliament refused to repeal the B. N. A. Act. He could give no definite answer. Upon his return to Nova Scotia he reported the result of his mission to his friends and at first his party seemed to be satisfied with his efforts and his determination to discontinue his part in the repeal agitation. Sir John Macdonald, who was kept informed of the situation in Nova Scotia, began a correspondence with a view of arranging better terms for Nova Scotia. Howe tells us that armed with Sir John's letter, he went to Mr. Annand, a leader of the extreme section of the Anti-Confederates, and showed it, but Mr. Annand declined to be a party to any negotiations whatever. Howe than asked him the question:—"Suppose I lock up this letter for six months in my desk and give you time to try your delegation, or any other means you prefer, what line will you take should you fail?" His answer was: "I will go for annexation." "Then," said Howe, "you and I must separate, and take opposite sides after six months more of life has been wasted. We might as well part now." The negotiations with Sir John Macdonald were resumed, better terms were arranged, and Mr. Howe and Mr. Woodbury McLelan joined Sir John's cabinet. For this step Howe was violently assailed. To some of the Conservatives, remembering the old struggles, he was not altogether acceptable; the charge of the Liberals was that he was traitor. They showed him in public papers, and attacked him in the press. The action of his old friends was the most painful experience of his whole life. The bye-election in which he stood for Hants, in 1869, was held in mid-winter, and in the campaign his health broke down, although he was successful, thereafter he never was the Howe of the old days. In the Canadian Commons he never did justice to himself, or to the reputation he had as brilliantly won. He apparently made no great impression. After a few years he was appointed to be Lieutenant-Governor of his own Province, but he lived only a short time to enjoy the position. He died in 1873.

Before concluding, I desire to refer to his pamphlet on the Organization of the Empire. This subject he pondered for many years. He made a speech of considerable length in 1854 in favor of the representation of the colonies in the British Parliament. He pleaded that the British subject abroad was heir to the same rights as the British subject at home; that in the matter of defence he had the same duties; that by close organic union alone could security of the Empire be assured for all time. The matter he thought must not be left to shape itself as it might. "Time and the sea and some fostering star" which the poet says made England would never weld the Empire, unless the political bond was more closely tied. Besides he must have had personal ambitions. He felt that he ought to be a member of the Mother of Parliaments, the greatest of Parliaments, and that in that august assembly he could fill no higher place. His words as to the duty of the overseas Briton, struck a high note which can, with propriety, be again sounded. He said:—

"At all events if there are any communities of British origin "anywhere who desire to enjoy all the privileges and immunities "of the Queen's subjects without paying for and defending them, "let us ascertain who and where they are—let us measure the "proportions of political repudiation now, in a season of tran- "quility, when we have leisure to gauge the extent of the evil "and to apply correctives rather than wait till war finds us "unprepared and leaning upon presumptions which have no "reality."

Looking back upon his career, ended two score years ago, fair minded men must admit that he was a man of unusual parts. Many of his contemporaries, both opponents and supporters, were men of education and ability, but he stood pre-eminent among them. By the variety of his gifts and the breadth of his vision, he caught the imagination, and touched the sympathies of the people at more points than any Nova Scotian. He had, as Abraham Lincoln had, great regard for the plain, common people who form the real backbone of a country. In addition, he had great personal magnetism, born of physical and spiritual qualities, which it is hard to define. If he loved his people, he loved his country also. In his poems he sang of the hills and valleys and glittering streams of his native province. He was heart and soul a Nova Scotian, and his countrymen knew it.

Joseph Howe

Then with love for his native country was mingled, as we said, a great devotion to the Empire. To him England was not an abstract idea; it was not a mere geographical expression. It rose before him, as it is said to have appeared to the men at Crecy, as a living presence. He was a reformer, but he believed in reform brought about by constitutional methods. When the reformers of some of the other provinces appealed to the sword for the redress of their grievances, he condemned their conduct in strong terms. He believed in reform, but not in rebellion. He loved justice and he respected properly constituted authority, the highly educated and the plain people, because he was "miraculously afflicted with the magic of the necessary words."

[February 24th, 1913.]

BRITISH COLUMBIA

By R. F. GREEN, M.P.
(for Kootenay)

BEFORE commencing the few remarks I intend to make upon the subject of the Province of British Columbia, I must express my appreciation of the honour you have done me in inviting me to be a guest to-day; an honour I appreciate more highly as it arises out of your interest in my native Province; an interest which will, I am convinced, grow greater day by day as the Province continues to develop. In speaking of the Province of B. C. it is difficult to curb one's enthusiasm sufficiently to obtain credence; there is always the danger, even if one sticks absolutely to authentic facts and figures, and avoids attempting to forecast the future, that one's statements are apt to be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders as being the optimistic and exaggerated outpourings of the western man, who, in making comparisons between the East and the West sometimes allows his enthusiasm to get a little the better of him, and is not altogether celebrated for his modesty, in speaking of the land of his birth or adoption as the case may be. But, indeed, it is difficult not to enthuse about that great province. When one considers its natural resources; its wealth, and its marvellous progress; when it is remembered that its population has more than doubled within the last decade; that in the year 1903, ten short years ago, its financial condition was such that the bankers of the country refused the government any further credit; while to-day, that Province has a deposit in the different banks of the country of about \$10,000,000 in cash, a sum which, with the amount to the credit of its sinking fund, is sufficient to pay off all the Province's bonded debt. When we know that it has to-day a revenue derived almost altogether from its natural resources of over \$10,000,000 per annum, that is to say, a larger

revenue than that of any other province in the Dominion, not excepting the great provinces of Ontario and Quebec. When we realize the enormous sums the Government is spending in Public Works, and the tremendous amount of railway construction now proceeding under Government aid; when we realize the tremendous possibilities of the development of trade with the Orient, and the increased shipping to arise from the opening of the Panama Canal; when, I say, we remember these things, British Columbia may be excused for being optimistic and enthusiastic to a degree that is sometimes wearisome to the less favoured Canadian who hails from any of the eastern provinces.

Before discussing the sources of British Columbia's wealth and prosperity, I would like for a moment to go into the question of her relative importance, as regards the other provinces of the Dominion. We, of the Province of British Columbia sometimes get just a little bit weary of having your eastern newspapers refer to the three prairie provinces as the West; just as if when the west is being spoken of the Province of British Columbia was not considered to be of sufficient importance to be classified with the others. The impression given to people unacquainted with the situation is, that the whole West consists of the three prairie provinces, consequently the expression in the press which gives rise to it is somewhat resented by the people of British Columbia. I am going to ask you, therefore, to bear with me for a few minutes while I endeavour to show you that British Columbia is very much on the map, and of fully as much importance as any province in the Dominion of Canada, other than the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec, if she is not as persistently boomed as some of her sister western provinces.

The population of the province at the last census was 392,000, or about 30,000 more than Alberta, and 50,000 or 60,000 less than Manitoba or Saskatchewan. We are, therefore, in point of population, the sixth province in Canada with, say, 400,000 people. But as a revenue provider of the Dominion we rank a good deal higher than fifth; in fact, we are the third province, being first after the two great provinces of Ontario and Quebec. The total revenue of the Dominion for the year ending 31st March, 1912, was \$136,000,000, and of this \$105,000,000 was derived from customs and excise duties, the balance being made up of miscellaneous receipts. Though only sixth in population, British

Columbia provides more towards this revenue than any province in the Dominion except the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, the next nearest province being Manitoba which is almost \$2,000,000 behind us. Out of \$85,000,000 customs receipts, British Columbia provides over \$10,500,000, or within one half million of double the total amount contributed by Alberta and Saskatchewan combined. British Columbia, with 400,000 people, pays nearly half as much as Quebec with five times as many people. To give one more illustration: British Columbia contributes to the Customs and Excise revenue of this country within less than \$50,000 of the Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia combined. Again, as regards the postal revenue, the province stands fourth of the nine provinces; with a revenue exceeding one million, and being only exceeded by the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba. British Columbia is not, and has not been, considered to be a manufacturing province, and yet it may surprise those present to know that she ranks third in the Provinces of Canada, with an output, during the year of 1911, of manufactured goods to the value of \$65,000,000, as against \$53,000,000 in the next nearest province.

As to shipping.—No man, with safety, can put a limit upon the growth of the shipping within the Pacific province. To-day, the ocean-borne tonnage arriving and departing from the City of Vancouver is greater than that of any city in Canada, not even excepting your own great City of Montreal. It is safe to allow that, following the opening of the Panama Canal, within the next five or ten years the ocean-carrying trade of Canada on the Pacific will far surpass that of Canada on the Atlantic. The enormous advantage of ports open the year round with a short haul from the prairie provinces to salt water is bound to increase the shipping on the Pacific to a degree undreamed of at the present time. As regards the coastwise trade I say nothing, as there is not very much information to be gained from statistics on this point, as the frequent calls of some vessels at the same ports swells the tonnage unduly, but I can say the coastwise trade of British Columbia already exceeds that of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and it would not surprise me if it also exceeds that of these provinces and of the province of Quebec combined. The facts which I have stated and which are incontrovertible, namely,

that our province stands first amongst all the provinces of Canada in point of provincial revenue, third, in the value of manufactured products; third as a contributor to the Dominion revenue; first in point of ocean shipping, and fourth in postal revenue, fully substantiate, I think, the statement I have made, that British Columbia is entitled to rank as one of the important provinces in the Dominion, and is, in the development of Canada, a factor to be reckoned with. With a population of only 400,000 we can hardly, as yet, hope to rival the great provinces of Ontario and Quebec, but when the relative merits of any of the other provinces are discussed, then the British Columbian need not be afraid of a comparison, and to do him justice I do not think he is at all likely to make the mistake of minimizing the importance of his province. But I think it must, in fairness, be admitted that he has ample justification for the pride that is in him, and although we cannot, as I said, hope to rival the great provinces of Ontario and Quebec at the present time, yet, I have very little doubt, that in the lifetime of persons now living the province of British Columbia will be a serious contestant for leading place amongst the provinces of Canada. In making this statement I make no reservation, even as regards the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Now, what is the reason for the great prosperity of the Pacific Coast province, and the splendid confidence in the future of its people. The reply is, the infinite variety and wealth of its natural resources. In the days when it was little known; when the question of government aid in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was being debated at Ottawa, it was stated by the Hon. Edward Blake that British Columbia was only a sea of mountains. This is in part true, and I have heard it stated by eloquent British Columbians that the fact is one in which we have every reason to be proud in, that when the Creator made this country He created British Columbia last; He gave many good things to the rest of Canada, but there were too many to go round, and what were left over were given to British Columbia. On this account it was found that large as it is, the mountains were necessary to obtain an area large enough to contain the treasures which have been showered upon the province. Parts of British Columbia may be fairly classed as a sea of mountains, but it is these same mountains which have yielded to the miner and the prospector metals and minerals to

the value of \$430,000,000, since 1852. It is amongst these mountains that nestle the lakes which supply the rivers, which will provide the people of the province, when harnessed, with electrical power,—more than sufficient for the needs of the province for centuries to come. It is between these mountains that the valleys lie, wherein is situated the magnificent timber, which is to-day the finest stand of timber in any one state or Province on the North American continent; timber which, although the inroads of man have hardly been commenced upon it, is, under a wise supervision providing the province with 25 per cent. of its revenue. It is in these mountains that lie billions of tons of coal, which is one of the great sources of the country's wealth; it is among these mountains that mighty rivers like the Fraser, Skeena, Columbia and Stikine have their sources—from these mountains they wend their majestic way to the sea, gathering strength and volume as they go, carrying materials from which are formed the great deltas of the province, composed of hundreds of thousands of acres of land, which is—and I say it advisedly—the most fertile in the world. It is in these rivers, far inland, amongst these mountains, that the great food fish of the Pacific—the salmon—finds its spawning ground, and in this way pays tribute to the people of British Columbia to the extent of millions of dollars annually. It may be, nay Sir, it is true, that British Columbia is largely a sea of mountains, but you will find no British Columbian to deplore the fact, but, on the contrary, he will tell you with pride and thankfulness that they are the source of the country's wealth. In giving some particulars of the natural resources of the country I would say that mining is entitled to first place, so far as production is concerned, in the present state of development. The total output, as I have just stated, since 1852 is nearly \$430,000,000, and of this amount \$250,000,000, or just about one half, has been taken out within the past ten years; so you see, though production is constantly on the increase, the industry reached high water mark in 1912, with a production of over \$32,000,000, an increase of \$9,000,000 over the preceding year. In fact, never in the history of the province has the mining outlook been so promising—the days of wild-catting are over—and the industry is now upon a sound business basis, and I look forward with confidence to an increased production from year to year.

I spoke a moment ago of the billions of tons of coal. To show that I am not exaggerating, I will merely mention that Mr. D. B. Dowling, of the Geological Survey branch, in connection with the Federal Department of Mines, in 1909, estimated the coal area in the Crow's Nest Pass section alone to contain 2,600,000,000 tons. This refers to one section of the country alone; he is not referring to the large deposits which have been worked for years on Vancouver Island; nor to the newly discovered deposits, as yet not worked, on Queen Charlotte Island; or in Northern British Columbia; or in the Ground Hog Basin; or Felqua River. As time goes on and the country is opened up by railways there is not the slightest doubt that very large coal areas will be discovered, and if there is one subject upon which the people of British Columbia need feel no uneasiness, it is that of the fuel supply.

Next in importance to the mining industry is the timber industry. Indeed, the province derives considerably more revenue from its timber than it does from its mines. The value of the cut for 1911 has been estimated by the Victoria Board of Trade as 28,000,000 dollars, and in her timber British Columbia has an asset the value of which it is not very easy to compute. A very conservative estimate of the quantity of actually merchantable timber is to be found in the report of the Forestry Commission, at the meeting of 1910, which places the amount available in British Columbia at 192 billion feet, board measure. As the cut for 1911 was 1,200,000,000 ft., it will be seen that we have timber for many years to come. In fact, by the time the present stand is exhausted, the wise policy of survey and reforestation, now being pursued by the provincial government, will be showing results, and new forests will be available. Of the 192 billion feet, one quarter is still in the hands of the forest and is reserved from sale or license, while a portion of the balance is held on annual license renewable from year to year. These licenses give to the holder the right to cut over a square mile. A fee of \$140 per annum is charged for each license held in respect of lands west of the Cascade range of mountains, and \$115 per annum for lands east of that range. The reason of the higher charge, for lands west of the Cascades, is that lands there, particularly on Vancouver Island, are much more thickly timbered than those limits situated further inland. Large areas on the

Island yield 50,000 feet to the acre. Licenses are issued for a year, but with the right of perpetual renewal, subject to any charge the government may see fit to make with reference to the annual fee and royalties. Already, from these fees and royalties, the province is in receipt of \$2,500,000 per annum, a revenue which can be increased at the will of the province, from time to time, as the value of the timber, either in the province or elsewhere, increases. The great advantages of the license system are:—

1. The facility with which the government can control the industry, and compel compliance with the forestry laws, with regard to conservation, waste, etc. When the holder of a license has to come annually for his renewal, it is easy to discipline him in case he commits a breach of the law.
2. The right reserved in the government to increase these license fees at any time, thereby making the country a partner in the industry; the country reaping the benefit of the great advances in values which are bound to come as other sources of supply approach exhaustion. For instance, the government this year has given notice of its intention to double the royalties heretofore imposed.
3. The ensuring to the government of a large annual revenue as long as the license is held, whether the timber is cut or not; thus preventing large areas being held by speculators as they would in the event of the timber not being cut without return to the province.
4. The automatic return of the land to the Crown so soon as the timber has been manufactured.

British Columbia is fortunate in that she has realized the enormous value of her timber before serious inroads, of fire and waste, have been made upon it. The Provincial government, at large expense, has wisely adopted a policy of supervision and reforestation which will well repay the province for the outlay.

Another great source of wealth to British Columbia is her fisheries. For the year ending 31st March, 1912, that province was the first province in the Dominion in the value of her fish productions. British Columbia produced over \$13,500,000 worth of fish, Nova Scotia being the next producer with something over \$9,000,000. When I tell you that so far from being exhausted our deep sea fisheries are absolutely only beginning to be ex-

ploited you will agree with me that we have here a source of wealth almost unlimited. The actual shore line of British Columbia following the bays and inlets, including the coast of the island of Vancouver, and Queen Charlotte Island, is 15,000 miles in length, according to the statement of Mr. Cunningham, Chief Inspector of Fisheries. The territorial waters washing these shores are stated by the officials of the Marine & Fisheries Department to contain fish and mammals in greater abundance than anywhere else in the whole world; while Professor Prince tells us that the greatest spawning and feeding grounds in the world for Halibut, Herring and other food fish, occur within the sheltered area—some 30,000 square miles in extent—lying between Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands on the west, and the coast of the mainland on the east. It is, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, to begin to estimate the enormous value of our fisheries, but we have here a source of wealth which is almost inexhaustible, and which will go on producing year after year, while our mines will not under proper supervision and regulation ever become exhausted. In fact, our fisheries are so valuable that we have been subjected to unwelcome attentions on the part of American fishermen, who, with their fleet of boats, have been exploiting the British Columbia fisheries and using the British Columbia harbours contrary to law. I am very glad to see that during the last few months more vigilance has been shown, on the part of the fishery protection service, with the result that more seizures have been made during the last few months than for several years previous. Another great feature of these fisheries is that, owing to the sheltered situation of the waters, fishing can be carried on with absolute safety from the perils of the sea. Year by year we read of the toll of human lives taken by the Atlantic in return for its yield of fish. On the Pacific Coast the sea is more merciful, allowing the fishermen to ply their calling without demanding such a terrible price.

Now, what about the great basic industry, as my good friend the Minister of Agriculture is so fond of calling the occupation of the farmer. Heretofore British Columbia has never been accused of being an agricultural province, and I am afraid it will be a good many years before we can become exporters to any great extent in this line, with the exception of fruit and vegetables. In the year 1910, the Province consumed \$29,000,000

worth, and produced in that year \$14,000,000, this \$14,000,000 however, was an increase of some \$5,000,000 over the previous year, and in 1911 we increased the output to \$21,000,000, or 50 per cent. We are, therefore, approaching the amount of our consumption, but our population is growing so fast that it will be a very considerable time before we reach it. I suppose it is scarcely a wise thing to say, in a fruit-growing country like Eastern Canada, but in districts like the Okanagan, Kootenay, and on Vancouver Island, we believe we can grow the finest fruit in Canada. At any rate, we have this justification for saying so, namely, that for several years past our exhibitors have carried everything before them at the great shows in England. The area of our orchards is expanding yearly, but the expansion of the orchards is not keeping up with the expansion of our great natural market on the prairies. With the increase of population on the prairies, where fruit cannot be grown commercially, it is difficult indeed to state the limit of the extent to which this branch of agriculture will grow. Hundreds of thousands of new trees are coming into bearing annually, and an idea of the rapid growth of the industry may be obtained from the fact that the value of fruit and vegetables produced increased in 1911 to over \$5,000,000, from under \$2,000,000 in 1910.

And now I would like to say a word or two about Vancouver Island. Vancouver Island is 285 miles long, with an average width of 60 miles, and contains about 15,000,000 acres; it is as large as the mainland of Nova Scotia and has a population of 100,000, or a shade more than the whole of Prince Edward Island. On that island are coal deposits which have been worked for 50 years, and have supplied the whole coast of British Columbia, and that of California as far south as San Francisco, and which shows no sign of exhaustion; in the seas washing the shores of that Island are to be found fisheries of untold value—the fisheries I have spoken about. And on that Island are large deposits of iron ore lying within a few feet of deep water, within a short distance of the coal, only waiting for the advance of enterprise to be the most paying, and the greatest iron and steel producing center in Canada; on the Island are thousands of acres of the very best agricultural and fruit growing lands waiting development; its rivers teem with trout and salmon for the sportsman, while its mountains are populous with feathered and four-footed

game. Pheasants, quail, grouse, ptarmigan, deer, elk, and moose are to be found in plenty, while for the man who does not want to kill, but is only desirous of seeing, there are the most beautiful views of snow covered mountains, streams, lakes and glaciers, as are to be found anywhere in the world; while added to all this it has what I believe to best the all-round climate in the world, the thermometer rarely goes below 50 degrees all winter, or above 75 in summer.

Victoria, its capital, is situated at the south end of the Island, and is a city of between 50,000 and 60,000 people. The assessed value of its real estate has increased from \$17,000,000 in 1905, to \$90,000,000 today; and its Bank clearings during the same period from being \$35,000,000 in 1905, to \$135,000,000 in 1911. It is the first and last port of call for all the enormous shipping trade of the Puget Sound district, including the large cities of Seattle, Tacoma, Everett and Bellingham, as well as all the vessels going to the port of Vancouver or Nanaimo. It will be the center of shipping and ship-building on the Pacific Coast. When, added to this, it is the most beautifully situated city in Canada, not even excepting your own fair city of Quebec, I feel that I need not make any apologies to you for my enthusiasm when speaking of my native city.

Such, then, is the heritage of the British Columbian. What of the future? What is going to develop this province, to make and keep it part of the great nation Canada is going to be? First and foremost it is to be a white man's country; it is to be a country where the white man can live on equal terms with his neighbour. There is no idea so deeply rooted in the minds of the great majority of the people of British Columbia as this one. We are frequently told that if coolie labour from the Asiatic countries were allowed in, we would develop the country more quickly in the clearing of our land and the settlement of farmers upon it; that it would enable us to open up and develop our forests, mines and fisheries; that it would be easier to obtain domestic servants; that living would be much more pleasant and more people would be attracted to the province. All this may be in a sense true, but I do not think that there are many, if any, in the province, who would not say that the price is too great. We are progressing quite fast enough as it is. The resources of the province are sufficiently taxed now to take

care of the rapidly-increasing population. Anyway, more rapid development, at the price of a large influx of the Oriental race, which cannot and never will be assimilated with the white race, is too great a price to pay for any advantage that it may bring. The object lesson of the race problem in the Republic to the south of us is one that cannot and will not be ignored in this connection.

What are we doing to develop the country?—Well, Sir, I think I would even venture the assertion that if the people of the Province are proud of it, even to a degree that may be objectionable, they are at any rate prepared to back their opinion as to its future. They have undertaken development operations that are, I venture to say, without a parallel in a country so sparsely populated as is British Columbia, at the present time. The operations of the government are at the present time directed to the opening up of the country by a system of trunk roads, and by generous aid to the construction of railways. It must be remembered that in a country so mountainous as ours road making and railway building are expensive propositions. But it is in railway building that the people of the province have shown their faith in the future of the country. There are now 1,495 miles of railway under construction, or under contract to be constructed in that province, in aid of which construction the government has guaranteed bonds and given cash subsidies to the extent of \$68,000,000, in addition to which, I note by recent newspapers, the further sum of \$10,000,000 is being guaranteed for terminals at Vancouver and Victoria. A Railway so being built is the Canadian Northern Pacific from Vancouver to the eastern boundary of the province. The completion of this road and its linking up with the Canadian Northern system on the prairies, will give us a transcontinental road to compete with the C. P. R. and the G. T. P.—and it is understood upon the Coast that this railway will be running transcontinental trains to the Pacific Coast, before the G. T. P. will be finished to Prince Rupert. The next biggest undertaking is the Pacific and Great Eastern Road from Fort George to Vancouver, a distance of 400 miles, which will connect with the G. T. P. at Fort George, running north and south through the centre of the province, and connecting the G. T. P. with Vancouver. On Vancouver Island we have both the C. P. R. and Canadian Northern projected from one end

of the Island to the other. The guarantees of the province in respect to these railways amount to the enormous sum of \$35,000 per mile, or, including the terminals, to \$78,000,000. That the people of the province are behind this policy almost to a man is evidenced by the triumphant return to power of the Government of Sir Richard McBride, who is responsible for the policy, and the obliteration from the political arena of his opponents. So that it is fair to say that if the people of the Pacific Province, in connection with those of the other Western Provinces, are somewhat prone to objectionable optimism, I think it is fair to say that they are prepared to back very substantially the faith which they profess.

Again, speaking of the future of the Province, he is a bold man who would venture to prophesy, with any certainty, the effect on British Columbia of the opening of the Panama Canal. That it will result in enormously increased shipping cannot be gainsaid, and that this will benefit Pacific Coast ports to a tremendous extent is obvious.

Time will not permit of any attempt on my part to analyze this question, nor am I capable of doing so, but there are two facts which are sure to have a very stimulating effect upon the prosperity of the Pacific Coast. There can be very little doubt but that the great bulk of the wheat of Alberta, and Western Saskatchewan at least, will be shipped via the Canal route to Pacific ports, the rail haul being shorter than to Lake Superior, and the ports having the great advantage of being open all the year round. You know what the shipping of wheat means to Montreal, and are better able than I to judge of what it will mean to us on the Pacific.

A second great fact is that immigrants can, and will be, landed by sea at Vancouver for very little more cost than they are now landed at Halifax. This means that if their destination is the prairie, they can be taken by virtue of the shorter rail haul to their place of destination at a much less cost and trouble to Pacific ports than from Atlantic ports.

It is not a stretch of imagination to suppose that when these immigrants land in a country with a climate similar to the best climate in England, in the midst of surroundings that must appeal to him, on account of their advantage over the ones he has left; in a country where there is room for millions of people, and one

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that affords more varied opportunities for material success than in any other part of Canada, I say, it is not a stretch of imagination to suggest that a large proportion of the immigrants under these conditions will never leave the province, but will stay with us to become good Canadians, and to help in working out the destiny of the Pacific Coast.

And now I have endeavoured to give you, in a somewhat sketchy way I am afraid, a little general information about that portion of our common country which borders on the Pacific. If I have interested any of you to the extent that you would care to find out more about the Province, I am thankful to have been able to do so. To those of you who take annual trips to Europe, I would suggest an occasional jaunt to the Pacific Coast, and to any who think I have exaggerated the wealth and prospects of the country I would extend a cordial invitation to come and see.

[*March 3rd, 1913*]

THE QUEBEC MARRIAGE LAW

BY DEAN F. P. WALTON, LL.D., K.C.

I COME before you to-day to plead the cause of a class of the community whose importance you will at least admit, namely, married women. I do not know any subject in which you are likely to take a greater interest —unless it be unmarried women. In the present rather heated state of public opinion I ought, perhaps, to say that I am not going to incite anybody to put foreign matter into letter boxes or to destroy golf greens or to break windows. The grievances of my clients for whom I appear without any instructions must be remedied by constitutional means, or, as far as I am concerned, must remain unredressed.

But how can our provincial Legislature spend its time more profitably than in reforming laws which affect so vitally the happiness of the people as do the laws dealing with marriage and its consequences? If our legislators can spare time to instruct the city of Montreal how to spend its own money, surely they can give a little attention to matters so much more clearly in the path of their duty.

So long as men claim for themselves the exclusive privilege of making the laws both for themselves and for their wives and sisters they have at least a plain duty to see to it that these laws are fair and equal as between man and woman. And, in my opinion, the first duty of every legislature is to make sure that its laws are such as to ensure justice for the poor, that is for the great mass of the common people. People of wealth and influence like financiers and professors can take care of themselves. If they are not satisfied with the laws as they stand they can generally evade them by making contracts or otherwise. But

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the poor people who are ignorant of law and cannot afford to pay for legal assistance have to deal with the laws as they are, or, rather, the laws deal with them.

Now, I want to show you that the laws as they are, are not fair as between man and woman, nor are they such as to protect the legitimate interests of the poor as a body. Let us see how the law stands.

People in this province can be married either according to the system of community or the system of separation of property. If they do not make a notarial contract, they are in community. Most of the richer people, most business men, take care to have marriage contracts, creating separation of property. Their wives' property may be useful for a rainy day. But the great mass of the people must be married without the expense of a notarial contract, and there is accordingly community of property between husband and wife. Of all the army of working men in Montreal, I suppose not one per cent., probably not one per thousand, will have a marriage contract. To all intents and purposes, therefore, community is the general law of the province, and if it is unjust, the legislature is not protecting as it should the interests of the many.

What, then, are the effects of community, so far as they can be stated in a very broad and rough way? I may say that the working out of the details of the community is an immensely complicated matter, and that very few lawyers could pass an examination in them. The effects of community need to be considered first, during the marriage, and second, when the marriage ends. During the marriage, the movable property, which they possess or acquire, and the immovables which they acquire by purchase, are entirely in the management of the husband. He is the *seigneur et maitre*. Immovables which they possess before marriage, or which fall to them later, by succession, are not in the community. But I want to consider the question mainly from the point of view of the poorer people, and they, as a rule, neither possess any immovables, when they marry, nor succeed to them afterwards.

They have only what they earn. If they manage to save a little money, is not this due to the thrift of the wife, as much as to the industry of the husband? Yet, by our law, the wife has absolutely no say—no legal say—as to its administration.

People often argue that there is no hardship in giving the husband the sole control, because the wife can always influence him. This is true of the happy marriages, but it is the unhappy ones which cause all the trouble. If the husband and wife agree, the law is not needed to protect them.

Let me give three illustrations of cases which may easily occur:—1. The husband and wife live happily together for some years and save a little money. Then the husband takes to drink or forms an attachment for another woman. In this latter case the wife cannot get a judicial separation unless the husband is obliging enough to keep his concubine in the same house as his wife.

But what man in his senses does this? The husband, whether drunken or unfaithful or both, proceeds to sell the house, to pawn the furniture and to squander every cent which the wife by years of self denial has helped to save. She can do nothing. Reduced to want she goes out to work by the day. When she comes home at night her husband has the legal right to take her earnings from her and spend them if he chooses on drink or on the wife's successor in his affections.

I have not studied the law of Turkey, and it may be that there the earnings of a married woman belong to her husband. But I know that by the law of England, France, Germany, the United States, except Louisiana, and the provinces of Canada, except Quebec, her earnings are her own. It may be said that by our law the wife can sue for separation of property when her interests are imperilled. To the poor woman this is no remedy. Before she knows her interests are imperilled, her husband has spent all the money, and how is a charwoman or a seamstress to find the means for litigation?

Now take case 2. The capable wife of an incapable husband starts a shop and employs her husband to smoke his pipe at the door. After twenty years the husband dies without a will. The wife has then saved \$10,000. She must hand over \$5,000, half of her own earnings, to her husband's heirs.

Case 3. The wife at the marriage has a fortune of \$10,000 in stocks. During the marriage her brother leaves her by a legacy a house worth \$10,000. The husband becomes insolvent. His creditors can take the shares and the house which came from

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the wife. Are these laws reasonable? As a matter of fact the law of England, of Ontario, of the United States, used to be much the same, but all these countries have seen fit to change it.

Why should we remain behind? What happens at the dissolution of the marriage? I will confine myself to cases where there are no surviving children, because we are concerned to-day with the law as it affects wives. If the husband dies, the wife can claim half the community, that is, of what the husband has chosen to leave there. But he may have spent all of it or given it away or thrown it into the St. Lawrence. Moreover, it may be that the husband never had anything of this own and that the community consisted entirely of what the wife had at the marriage or has since acquired, perhaps by her own exertions.

In any case, half of it goes away from her to her husband's relations. If the marriage ends by the death of the wife, the division of the community may be just as unfair to the husband. I was told some time ago of an actual case in Montreal. The husband had a small china shop, the stock of which formed practically his whole estate. The wife had brought him no money, and her nearest relative was a brother with whom the husband had quarrelled. The wife died, without a will, and the brother came forward and claimed half the stock. Rather than let him have it, the husband went to his shop one night and broke the stock into fragments. The law of community has very little to recommend it, and it is not originally French, so that we do not need to have any race-pride about it. It was brought to France by the barbarian invaders.

Now let us turn for a moment to the system of separation. Let me repeat this is the luxury of the rich. Under this system the wife retains her own estate, and the husband's creditors cannot touch it. But though the wife's property is her own, she cannot, like other owners, do as she likes with it. She cannot sell or mortgage her immovables, or sell her shares without getting her husband's signature. In England, in nearly all the States of the American Union, and in all the provinces of Canada, except Quebec, if a wife has separate estate, she can deal with it according to her own judgment. I see that in the State of Maryland, if the wife is under eighteen, the husband must consent to her alienations. In Quebec, all wives are under eighteen.

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Now I come to a rule of our law, so astounding as to be almost incredible. A wife has no right of succession to her husband if he leaves relations within the twelfth degree. So far as I know, Quebec is in the proud position of being the only civilized country which lays down this great principle. The marriage contract may give the wife something, but in many cases it is not much, because fortunately, people marry young, when they have not much to give.

Suppose two young people marry who have very little money. All that the husband feels able to do by way of provision for his wife is to insure his life for \$5,000. Later on he becomes rich, and at his death he leaves a million dollars. If he has made no will the wife will get \$5,000, and the husband's nearest relation will get \$995,000. Within the twelfth degree is down to fifth cousins. Do you know your fifth cousins? Yet the law says they are more nearly related to you than your wife. It is time you began to look them up.

It is no answer to all this to say that people ought to make wills. Many people do not make wills. Probably of the poorer classes only a very small proportion make wills. But a good system of law divides a man's estate in a reasonable way so that if he dies without a will no great harm will be done.

I have only a minute or two for the last grievance. We ought to have a divorce court. No one believes less than I do in too frequent or too easy divorce, but there are circumstances, unfortunately too common, in which it is immoral to compel the husband and the wife to live together. And judicial separation is no remedy. If we want to encourage immorality, how can we do so better than by allowing the spouses to live apart on condition that they shall not marry anybody else? Wives without husbands, husbands without wives.

This is not a religious question. Those whose consciences will not allow them to be divorced can remain married. But why should their scruples prevent the others who do not share them from seeking this remedy? It is impossible to say that the laws of Canada hold that marriage is indissoluble, for the Constitution gives power to the Federal Government to set up divorce courts, and proposals to do so have several times been made.

We have divorce courts in the Maritime Provinces and in British Columbia. The rest of Canada shares with Ireland the distinction of being the only important part of the British Dominions where divorce cannot be granted except by Act of Parliament. My objection to this is its injustice to the poor. In England parliamentary divorce lasted till 1857.

The agitation which brought about the change was, it is said, started by the witty remarks of a very able judge, Mr. Justice Maule. A travelling tinker was tried before him for bigamy. The tinker's wife had eloped with another man and the tinker had thought himself free to marry again. He was mistaken. In pronouncing sentence the judge said something like this,—“You have been convicted of having contracted a bigamous marriage. Your case was a hard one, but you had your legal remedy. When your wife ran away you should have instructed your solicitor to institute an action for criminal conversation against the paramour. You would have obtained damages which he would probably have been unable to pay, and you would have had to pay your own costs, perhaps £150. Fortified with this judgment you would then have applied to the ecclesiastical court for a decree of divorce, *a mensa et thor*. You would then have been in a position to instruct your parliamentary solicitor to prepare a Bill which after passing through the two Houses would have received the Royal assent. You would then have been free to marry again. You may say with truth that the proceedings would have cost you £1,000 and that you never had at one time 1,000 shillings. But it is my duty to tell you that in this country there is not one law for the rich and another for the poor.”

Can we not apply this to ourselves? Parliamentary divorce is not so cumbrous here as it used to be in England nor quite so expensive. But if the expense is not the great difficulty, how can we account for the fact that in Nova Scotia, which has a divorce court there have been within the last forty years about twice as many divorces as in Ontario, which has more than four times the population.

In this province for the moderately well-to-do there is no insuperable difficulty in getting a divorce at least for one cause. But the working man or the workingman's wife has as much

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chance of getting a divorce as of buying a motor or forming a merger.

I hope I have satisfied you that serious grievances exist. It is impossible to arouse public opinion sufficiently to get them remedied.

[March 10th, 1913]

A SEVEN YEAR OLD PROVINCE

By W. A. BUCHANAN, M.P.
(for Medicine Hat, Alta.)

I WENT to Alberta in 1905, when the Province was created, and I am somewhat intimately acquainted with its history since that date. Of course, every person from the west is a booster, but I want to give you some absolute facts and figures regarding the development of Alberta, and to deal also with some of its problems and possibilites. Alberta is a province with an area of 255,285 square miles. I represent a constituency 180 miles square, with 6,000,000 acres. That will give you an idea of the extent of our province, and if I may touch a political matter, you may gather some idea why our people are in favor of redistribution. The constituency I represent had at the 1911 census a population of 76,000. Medicine Hat City, a part of my constituency, has more than doubled since that time, and there has been proportionate growth over the country; I represent a constituency of 80,000 people. My constituency runs from the boundary of Saskatchewan to the boundary of British Columbia. Alberta had in 1901 a population of 73,000; in 1906, 185,000; and in 1911, 374,000. The other day I noticed a report to the Provincial Legislature which gave the population of Alberta as half a million.

In 1905 there was only one railroad, the C. P. R. with 1,060 miles; in 1912 the C. P. R. had 1,480 miles, the C. N. R. 912, and the G. T. P. 638, and the Edmonton-Dunvegan 25 miles; a total of 3,055 miles in the Province, an increase of over 2,000 in the seven years. Still there are great portions of the Province thickly peopled without any transportation facilities. During my election campaign in 1911 I drove for two days and did not reach a railroad for over 100 miles. In the greater portion of that country farmers were raising crops and they had to go 100

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miles to dispose of their grain. Some of you, perhaps, are not very familiar with our resources. In one portion of our province we have great deposits of coal. In 1905 there were 75 coal mines; many small, only producing for farmers. They produced 1,000,000 tons and employed 2,800 people. In 1912 there were 243 mines producing 4,000,000 tons and employing 7,000 people. About 100,000,000 acres are available for cultivation, and in 1912 we had two and a half million acres producing 64,500,000 bushels. The value of the crop in 1912 including hay, was \$30,000,000. In 1905 the yield was only 13,000,000 bushels. You can imagine the great development ahead of Western Canada when the rest of these acres are cultivated. We have north of Edmonton a vast country, and it is worth mentioning that at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia the prize grain was grown 400 miles north of Edmonton. Edmonton is really south of the centre of the province, and when you have agricultural experts declaring that the richest part is north of Edmonton you can imagine the development ahead.

One thing that strikes people visiting the province is that the people are greatly in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities. The cities of Calgary, Edmonton and Lethbridge own their street railway systems. We have started out with the idea that these franchises are worth possessing. We look to the future when they will be profitable. We own our light and power plants and our waterworks system in every city in the province; and in my city, Lethbridge, we own a city coal mine. The result is the city can supply electric power at \$12 per H.P.

Alberta is noteworthy for its advanced legislation. We have had a great many people coming on from the northern states and these people advocated progressive ideas, and the Canadian settlers are just as much in favor of them. We have as a result the single tax. Last year the Province created rural municipalities; and in the Act it was legislated that no taxation should be levied on improvements to property. In Edmonton the single tax has been introduced; in Calgary and Lethbridge it is coming gradually. In most of the villages single tax is in operation and has been for some time.

We find the government in Alberta co-operating with the farmers in meeting some of the demands of agriculture. One of the great problems has been the need of elevators. Private

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ownership did not seem to provide these as rapidly as they were needed. As a result of agitation the Government has legislated to provide for co-operation ownership. The Government has also co-operated to establish creameries, and has operated a system by which the farmer may take possession in time. The operation has been a success.

We have a Government telephone system. In 1905 the Bell Company operated in the larger centres and had a long distance line. They had about 208 pole miles. In a few years the Government felt that the system was not being extended as rapidly as required, so they organised a Government system and acquired the Bell lines. They extended rapidly until now it is possible for a person in Athabasca Landing to talk with points on the American boundary, and it is possible for Alberta to be in communication with British Columbia. At the present time we have 3,017 pole miles of long distance lines. In 1905 there were 24 offices and to-day practically every town is in connection with the Government line. We have established a rural telephone system, and it is possible for farmers coming from Ontario or the States where they have rural telephones to find in Alberta the same conveniences. To-day we have 5,983 pole miles of rural telephones, with 7,120 subscribers in addition to the long distance line, and the subscribers at local exchanges. The government telephone has beaten out the railroads, and many towns have 'phone connection long before the railroad reaches them.

Alberta has to face the problem of education. When I was asked to address this meeting, I wrote the deputy minister of Education to supply me with some figures, which I think will interest this gathering, and will show you that Alberta while looking after material interests is not neglecting the intellectual. In 1905 there were 562 school districts. After seven years we have 2,029 districts, and in the last three years there has been practically a school district created every day. We are also realising the importance of training our own teachers, so that we can send out young Canadians to teach the youth of other lands coming into our country. We have established two normal schools which have turned out 1,300 teachers. The situation, however, is extremely serious because we have not yet enough teachers. Reports have come east that it was probable we would have to look outside the Empire for teachers, but I do not think that

will happen. Once the need of teachers is impressed on Eastern Canada and the Mother Country we will get a supply. I would dislike very much if we had to get teachers from without the Empire. We have had impressed upon us the idea that Alberta might be influenced by her foreign settlers. I do not see any danger of that so long as we can build up the right kind of school system, to teach the young the history of Canada and of the Empire, and to teach respect for the British flag.

One of the problems of western Canada is the provision of transportation. A few days ago I was permitted to say in the House some things in regard to the conduct of the railways in securing charters to build in sections where there was no railroad. In my own constituency one railroad announced four years ago that they would proceed with the construction of a line that would cover about 100 miles. This portion of the constituency is about 70 or 80 miles away from a railroad. Following this announcement the people flocked into the country and bought land. The people are there yet raising crops and marketing them 80 miles away, but no railway has been started. As a result of this, the people are beginning to leave and are going back across the line taking with them reports that are disastrous to western Canada. I think the railroads should build branch lines as rapidly as possible, do less in building hotels and investing in townsites and do more that is absolutely necessary in the way of giving facilities. While it is true that the railroads have done a great deal for western Canada, there is a great deal they must do if it is to proceed in development.

Regarding the problem of markets, my idea is that the people of Eastern Canada are capable of solving the problem in part at least. We have been asked to go into mixed farming, and we have gone into it, but we have got to get a market. The manufacturers of Eastern Canada should realise that they have to provide markets for the people of western Canada by going into western Canada and building up industrial centres. We are finding that the manufacturers who are doing the most development are not the manufacturers of eastern Canada, but of the United States. In one little community in my constituency where we have natural gas (Redcliffe) nine industries were established in 1912. One and three quarter millions was invested and less than half a million of it was invested by Canadian

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manufacturers. This is a problem for the Canadian manufacturer. He will lose a market for his own goods if he does not go into western Canada. The same thing is happening in Medicine Hat, which is becoming one of the most important manufacturing centres in the west, in view of its natural gas and supply of cheap power. We feel that the manufacturers of eastern Canada should go into the west and develop industry and provide a home market, because at the present time our cities are few and scattered.

I find in eastern Canada much concern is expressed about the new settler—whether he is going to make a good Canadian. Personally I have no fears. I have opportunities of meeting the new settlers, and I find they enjoy the freedom of our institutions, and respect the enforcement of the law. They are anxious to become good Canadian citizens. There are exceptions, as there are in every case. The people of Alberta are just as proud as the people of the east of the development of Canada, and they are proud when they hear of the development of Montreal or Toronto. We believe because we have gone into the country in its early stages we know what it is worth. We appreciate Canada perhaps a little more than the people of the East. I am a much better Canadian since I went to the west.

We have Canadian Clubs just as numerous as in the east. Practically every town has a strong active Canadian Club. What we would like more than anything else is that some of your leaders should come out and appear before the Canadian Clubs and meet the people of the west, and help to develop the sentiment of loyalty to Canada and the British Empire. While the people of the west have great problems they are prepared to assume the responsibilities of Canada's connection with the Empire. Since the discussion in the House I have had letters from former American citizens saying they did not believe in the referendum—they felt Canada should do something.

I believe Alberta is the western province with the greatest possibilities. We have the foundation for the greatest industrial province because of natural gas, unlimited coal areas, and great water powers. It will be a great mixed farming province, because we have vast irrigation systems, and we are getting into the raising of livestock more rapidly than any other part. Farmers are realising the importance of intensive cultivation.

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We have great faith in our future, but we have not so much faith as some of the people of eastern Canada who have been let in by real estate speculators. Millions of dollars have been thrown away by persons who have invested in one townsite or another with no prospect of increase. Really the people deserve it when they know enough of eastern Canada to know that every community cannot be a city. Do not speculate in western real estate until you know exactly what you are investing in. It is a crying shame that men with little money should have invested it in town lots for which they will never get half or a quarter of what they paid. The legitimate real estate man who stays in his own town is a safe man to deal with, but the man who comes east to sell it is not.

Come out and visit us, and you will go back to eastern Canada convinced that in the west you have as good a type of Canadian as anywhere in the Dominion.

[*Tuesday, March 11th, 1913*]

THE PROGRESS OF CANADA

BY THE RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE
His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

IT was very kind of your Chairman to introduce me as an old friend, because it is in that character that I wish to appear, and especially to appear as a friend of the Canadian Club. I have long felt that the Canadian clubs are an institution equally unique and excellent; unique, because I do not know of any other country in which there exists a similar organization of clubs, totally apart from party politics, and drawing unto themselves so much of that which is best in the community. The Canadian clubs seem to express that public spirit which realizes that there is a great deal in life besides business and politics, and that an organization is needed which will give people the place and the opportunity of meeting apart from business and politics, where only two things are recognized, the acquisition of knowledge and the interests of Canada as a whole.

So it is especially pleasant to me, who know nothing about business, and have forgotten all I ever knew about politics, to meet in our common interest in knowledge and in Canada. My acquaintance with Montreal begins at a date when Canadian clubs were unheard of. It is now forty-three years since I first visited Montreal, and I often wonder if you younger men or you men who have come to this country since then, realize what a different sort of a place Canada was in 1870. It was not a place full of that vitality and movement that characterizes it to-day.

On the contrary, the movement in business and growth of population were comparatively slow. It had only just got its confederation, and people were still wondering how the system would work.

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There were no railways across the Rockies, and certainly none as far as Winnipeg, I think. In fact, I doubt if Winnipeg existed. What wonderful changes have happened since then, even within the last ten or fifteen years. It is now some twenty-five years since you began to realize the enormous possibilities in agriculture of your North-West. I visited Winnipeg in 1890, when it had only ten thousand population. Nobody even then realized the opportunities of that part of the country.

And in those days there was no idea of the existence of a fertile region, I think you call it a clay belt, between here and Hudson's Bay. There was no notion of your mineral wealth of Northern Ontario and other parts, of your coal deposits in the Rocky Mountains and of the wealth that lay hidden in the forest recesses of British Columbia and Vancouver Island.

Nobody can set limits to what more there may be of material wealth in Canada.

And not more remarkable has been the way in which you have developed your constitutional government. I can remember the uneasiness which the birth of the federal system in Canada brought about.

There were not wanting alarmists and prophets of evil who could lay hold of all sorts of social, racial, and religious differences to show that Canada could never be a united country. Your Federal system has worked along the lines set out by the wise men of 1867, with as little friction and as any federal system has shown in the world.

There is, perhaps, only one parallel to your system of government, that of Switzerland since the constitution of 1874. There is, perhaps, no system that has worked as fairly and to the complete satisfaction of the people as it has worked under the constitution of Canada.

You have had here the great problem of two races, speaking different languages, coming from a different origin, whom the federal system was designed to enable to live together under one united government.

You have had the problem of providing local institutions for sections of the country as dissimilar as British Columbia, as the Prairie Provinces, as the Maritime provinces, and both as regards racial relations and the adaptation of the local government, giving satisfaction to particular needs, your federal system has been an unqualified success.

That is also a testimony to your capacity for self-government. And with all these things, you have maintained what is the primary requisite of all good government, perfect order, respect for the law, a pure, honorable, and independent judiciary, who have the confidence of the people.

I don't think there is any better test of the true civilization of a people and a government than when you find a judiciary upright, pure and honest. I think we of the British Empire may be proud that wherever our flag waves, the judiciary is pure, upright and respected. There is nothing that makes so much for the happiness of the people as the confidence that every man has that justice will be done him either in a civil or a criminal court. I am glad to tell you that, having visited South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, the same purity and independence exists in those dominions in the Southern Hemisphere.

You enjoy in Canada another great benefit, and you enjoy it in a manner not dreamt of in other days, and that is the absolute peace in this country. There was a time when people could not feel sure that peace would always be maintained between two great peoples, one of which was much larger in population than the other, and each occupying a frontier of three thousand miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

In 1817 an arrangement was concluded between the British Government and the Government of the United States which provided that there should be no war vessels on the Great Lakes, except two little boats for the protection against smuggling. In 1817 that was a very bold thing to do, to lay down all preparations and all arms between these two peoples which two or three years before had been at war with one another. Both nations, however, followed this up by erecting no fortifications, and the undefended frontier separating these people at the present time is the evidence that the people of these two countries desire peace and that confidence has been justified. For nearly one hundred years, it will be one hundred years in 1917, that arrangement providing for peace on the Great Lakes has been carried out with perfect fidelity by both nations.

There is great talk at the present time, as you all know, in Europe about the reduction of armaments. No wonder they should look here and see what you and the people of the United States have done, which is a good example of how it is possible to do without arms.

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There is a proposal at the present time for celebrating next year the anniversary of the signing of the treaty of Trent. I believe committees have been formed to provide means for that celebration. I can assure you now that this celebration is regarded with the greatest interest both in the United States and Great Britain, and I feel sure that you here will feel the same way and realize how much holier and higher it is to be celebrating one hundred years of peace than to be enveloped in war.

I am glad to tell you that I do not think there ever was a time when the government of the United States as well as the people of the United States were more cordial in their desire of being friendly than at this moment. I had an interview with the new president of the United States last week, and he expressed the desire that during his administration the sympathy at present existing between these two peoples be continued.

The Secretary of State expressed the same sentiments with equal warmth, and I believe these are the sentiments of the American people.

But after all it has been the good will of the people more than good government that is responsible. I believe that the Governments of Europe are anxious to keep peace, but I believe that peace depends more on the people than on the government.

I may say that in Europe the newspapers are not always at peace; they confine themselves too largely in one country to what is unfavorable to another country. But that is not the case in the United States at the present time any more than it is in Canada. I have been a very diligent reader of the press both of the United States and Canada, and I find no lack of harmony in the press of the United States towards Canada or in Canada towards the United States, and I believe that the friendship between Great Britain and the United States and Canada and the United States is perpetual and undying.

It is a great thing for this country to be free from rumors of wars and the expenditures which hang round the necks of the people of Europe. You have here in Canada another advantage which has reached a point we hardly hoped for 45 years ago. You have grown very rapidly, not only in the matter of population, but in wealth as well, and you have increased your population almost eight or nine times, and while your wealth and power has been increasing, your patriotism has also increased.

We only just found out in 1870 that you were going to be a great people. You did not think it would be possible for the French and English to live so happily together as they have ever since that time. Yet with all this growth there has been no diminution of Imperial sympathy.

In England and Scotland at that time we did not know how great Canada was going to be, and even our American friends did not know how great Canada was going to be.

I remember at the time of the Colorado beetle plague, when goods were being shipped to the Old Country, a resolution was passed to prevent the advent of the beetle into England, and I remember afterwards, in looking over the resolution that at one point, where some reference was made to Ontario, that it was referred to as "that town."

The affection of Great Britain and Ireland for you is not effected by party politics, but by a common love for your welfare, and I hope that in this country your patriotism has kept pace with your growth in population. For it must be remembered that we are, each of us, greater as parts of an empire than we could possibly be standing by ourselves. In proof of this we rejoice to know that all the self-governing dominions are showing a willingness to help us out without distinction of party, because whatever difference may exist in detail between the parties they are at one in principle. They show a willingness to help us to bear the burden which at present bears pretty heavily upon Great Britain.

In these days I admit that we do not know as much about Canada and the other transmarine Dominions as we should, but we are now taking a keener interest and learning more. I believe that the people of Great Britain and Ireland show as keen an interest in the welfare of Canada as in the affairs of themselves, for we are united by the bonds of paternal feeling based upon our traditions, literature and our common institutions. That I am sure is also the feeling here in Canada. There is one thing, however, in which you should stand apart from the old land and that is in political matters, for British party politics should be kept in a separate watertight compartment.

You have a task before you in Canada which includes several very great undertakings. In the first place, you are receiving an enormous number of immigrants, and all of these are not

of British stock, nor of the allied Germans and Scandinavians. They come largely illiterate, for the most part ignorant of the free institutions under which you have been living. It is, therefore, your function, and by that I mean the French-Canadians and English-Canadians as well, to try to get hold of these new-comers and raise them socially, and teach them the traditions so dear to you.

You have also got a great problem before you in the disposal, safe-guarding and conservation of your enormous natural resources. I am glad to hear of late years that this question has taken up a great deal of attention in Canada. We have heard a great deal about it in the United States, and I am sure it is just as important—relatively perhaps more important here because you have now got proportionately more to conserve. You have your great forests to preserve from depredation, from forest fires, from getting too largely into the hands of people who recklessly cut them down, and you have to secure that steps be taken to replace by planting any that are cut down. Your forest reserve in the west will not only preserve wild animals, but will also maintain the rainfall. I hope you will go still further and take steps in order to secure that use will be without waste, and so see that posterity shall come in for its due share of what Providence has bestowed.

The same thing applies to water powers. I do not know what is happening in Canada, but I know that in the United States the water powers are being very rapidly taken up, and in some cases in a way which does not necessarily secure for the whole people the benefit they should obtain. The people are interested in these things, and they should be governed in such a way as to secure proper benefit.

You have got that great task which all modern countries are endeavoring to face—the task of maintaining industrial peace, and endeavoring to avoid struggles between Labor and Capital which are so great a hindrance to industry, and which often have the baneful fruit of producing ill-feeling between classes. I believe you have been more successful than other countries, and I am sure we in England and Scotland look most earnestly to you in the hope that the experiments you make may be most beneficial to the whole world.

And then you have got to endeavor to secure that your wealth is shared as far as possible by all the people—that every improvement in the condition of Canada as a whole, every increase of national wealth is also an increase of wealth not confined to one class, but distributed over all classes; so that every class shall in proportion to its position and opportunities, benefit by the general wealth and prosperity of the country. That is a thing that is best done in a prosperous time. It is when the country is growing and thriving when wages are good, when everybody is making money—it is before discontent and want and penury have made their appearance—that is the time to try to make just laws under which everybody shall have a chance to look with satisfaction on the world into which they are born. When there is prosperity let everybody have occasion to be glad, and let nobody have occasion to think that it is all being absorbed by a few individuals, and that they are being left out in the cold. I know that is a pretty difficult problem. I am not attempting to solve it; I am only trying to indicate the spirit in which it should be approached. I believe that spirit exists in modern countries, in the United States, in England, and, I am sure, it exists here also. These are the years in a new country like Canada in which the principles should be laid down and the spirit formed by which the country is to grow and thrive in generations to come.

There are now not many portions of the world left which are fitted for agricultural development as is your western country. Besides your west there are still parts of South America, there is still one corner of Siberia, there is still part of Australia which does admit to be settled by a larger population than yet occupies it; but these, I think, are the only four countries, and if the development is to go on at the rapid pace of the past sixty years there are some living amongst us who will see the end of that period of development. Of all these countries there is perhaps no country so well fitted for the best kind of agriculture, and for the settlement of the best sort of the civilized community as your north-west. Because here you have not only the soil, but an energetic race trained to industry, energy, and enterprise. You have incalculable opportunities. You have had gifts bestowed on you by nature and the God of nature, such as few other peoples have ever been privileged to enjoy. For the good use

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of these gifts we are all responsible to posterity, and we in Great Britain look with admiration and sympathy upon what you are doing, and with hope to what you will do. We hope and trust that posterity will look with gratitude and pride on those who in this decisive century made Canada not only a great, rich, powerful people, but also the home of a people, happy, enlightened and united.

[*Monday, March 17th, 1913*]

LESSONS OF PEACE FROM WAR

By COLONEL SIR JOHN YOUNG, C.V.O.

I AM highly honored by being given the privilege of appearing before an audience of business and professional men; for my purpose to-day will be nothing unless it is to place a business proposition before you for your consideration, and my purpose will not, in my eyes or mind, succeed if it is not to serve some useful public end or aim. I am not here to deal with any military systems. I am not here to discuss the merits or demerits of compulsory service or voluntary service. These are matters for public discussion in Canada, in my humble opinion, by Canadians alone, and it is not for a visitor like myself to intrude any opinions I may have. I wish clearly to say that I have no desire to use this opportunity for furthering any doctrines which may savor of militarism. I detest the name because under militarism the spectacle is now being paraded before the world, of nations being carried to economic extinction by the increasing demands for armaments and the service of men.

Having thus cleared the ground, I will put before you only two lessons which I have learned myself, and which I desire to place before you for your consideration. It is right that the man who presumes to address an audience of business and professional men should place before you his credentials. It has been my great good fortune besides taking part in campaigns directly in the ordinary service of an army officer, to take part both in these campaigns and in continental wars as a chief commissioner of the British Red Cross. I was present at German army headquarters in 1870-71. That gave me an insight into the military organization of Germany, which has served me ever since as an ideal so far as organisation is concerned. But my duties in

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connection with the Red Cross gave me a greater insight because of the wide view a man in my position was able to take. I was able to trace cause and effect in the conduct of the war, and any lessons which may be learned for the benefit of my own service. Of great interest was my experience in the Russo-Turkish war. I was fortunate enough to be Chief Commissioner with the widest powers of moving about that I suppose any man was ever entrusted with. I had a steamer at my disposal for my personal use which enabled me to visit one front and another in Europe and Asia; it was very amusing to find the experience in one part contrary to that in another, and it was very delightful to try research into cause and effect, to reconcile the conflicting circumstances.

My British campaigns were two in Egypt, three in South Africa, and one—my first—in Abyssinia. These are my credentials. I mention them not in a boasting spirit but in one of humility, to place them before you for presuming to address you.

Now the first lesson derived from war which I wish to place before you as making for peace is this:—I think it is a vital necessity for the Mother-Country and the Oversea Dominions to see to it that there is a large thinking department, constituted of experts (naval, military and scientific) to think out problems of defence whether immediately connected with the territory of the Dominion or linking it up with the Mother-Country, or other Dominion across the seas. I am not assuming that there is not such a department—a military intelligence department—at this moment, but my ideal is that it shall be absolutely apart from executive responsibility, either in connection with naval, military or civil forces, and that the experts should have set before them and be encouraged to deal with all the wide problems that affect the interests of the Dominions; and that these interests should have their focus in the policy of the Government of the day in regard to the taxation which they put upon the people for military or naval operations. Why I ask that it should be absolutely independent is that it should have no responsibility for executive work, but should borrow, if necessary, from the resources of the military and naval intelligence department. Its main purpose is to think wider than either of these two departments; they ought to work questions out for ministers in order to help them to frame their policy. This is no new idea. Mr. A. J. Balfour

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created such a Council of Defence for the Mother Country. At first its scope was small, but it began quickly to widen, and I do not suppose any man would render it more hearty tribute to the help it has been to the Mother Country than the present Prime Minister. I do say that it has been the means of preventing ministers incurring expenditure which they are being urged to make by people who are imperfectly informed, and it has encouraged expenditure which perhaps ministers did not quite see was necessary. I venture to say that if the Council had been in existence the expenditure on the late South African War would have been greatly reduced, and perhaps the war itself would not have taken place. Why I urge it on Canadians is this. You are a young country, destined to be much greater, and it is for you to learn the lesson of self-preservation for peaceful development by the creation of a thinking department on the largest and widest basis possible.

I now place before you the second lesson I have learned from war. It is this—that for the Mother Country and the Dominions—especially those with enormous sea frontiers like Australia, sea power is absolutely vital if we are to maintain unimpaired the splendid heritage handed down to us by those who won these far-flung dominions. If you wish to preserve them and establish them in such peaceful development as I hope Canada will have, I do say that sea power with unity of purpose is absolutely vital to safeguard possessions such as are held by the Mother Country and the Oversea Dominions.

History I do not wish to trouble you with, but I do say this, that the peaceful development in the early Victorian age of the Oversea Dominions would not have been possible, and we would not have enjoyed to the fullest that liberty and personal freedom and the blessings of self-government had Nelson and Trafalgar not won from the French and Spanish fleets the mastery of the seas which enabled us to develop and protect the Empire. Are not we to-day carriers of 70% of the earth's produce, and is not the cheapest method of transit the bosom of the heaving ocean? And if that is a fact, is it not a sign that it is due to our naval supremacy? Personally, I have no fear. I do not believe in any war scare. But I do say this, that with the changing circumstances caused by the rise of fleets both in the Pacific and in the North Sea the man would be a fool who would not

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endeavor by timely thinking out of the dangers which might arise to threaten our supremacy to provide for them adequately. I believe that if the English-speaking Dominions unite to maintain the mastery of the seas they can dictate peace throughout the world. I make bold to say that we can tell these armament increasing nations:—"Reduce your armaments and when you do we will call off our fleet from bottling up your ports," and the world will go on developing naturally under peaceful conditions. Everyone knows that during the South African War there were forces at work which if they had had the power would have threatened the lines of communication. What was it that prevented this? It was due to the fact that at that moment there was not a power that could challenge the might of Britain on the seas. While our aspirations are necessarily first for ourselves, we must let it be known that where there are dark places on the earth it is our mission to open them to the light and confer on them inestimable benefits which they never enjoyed. You are celebrating the centenary of David Livingstone. (It is, by the way, a fact that his brother came to Canada and engaged in commerce, and I understand his descendants are prosperous men and worthy citizens.) David Livingstone had a true ideal of the destiny of this freedom-loving race. He realised that commerce must be the basis on which freedom must be won. Listen to his words at Cambridge on 4th December, 1857, addressing the students:—"I go back to Africa to open a path both for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry on the work I have begun. I leave it with you."

I place before you those two lessons with confidence that you will maintain unsullied your heritage, and by any sacrifice in your power maintain the sea power which is the cradle of all our liberties.

[*March 31st, 1913*]

IMPRESSIONS OF CANADA

By J. FRAME THOMPSON

THE circumstances which have given me the opportunity of addressing the Canadian Club of Montreal have given me greater pleasure than perhaps anything else could. I myself was born and educated in Scotland, but have spent the last thirty-two years in England. The history of Scotland is made up largely of a long series of struggles against England and English oppression. So much is that fact recognised that, however friendly the English and Scottish peoples may be at the present moment, it cannot be forgotten. I never consider myself in London anything but an expatriated Scotsman, and this I think gives me an opportunity of taking your point of view, for you also in Canada have had your quarrels with England. But neither Scotland nor Canada is wanting in loyalty to the Empire, and, though I often have to take a trip to the United States I always like to see the old flag waving over British soil again. I am afraid, however, that I have travelled around the world so much that I have become entirely cosmopolitan and have lost my identity of race. Here in Canada you have a number of races which have preserved their national identity, and I am not exaggerating in the least degree when I say that I have got an entirely new feeling since coming to this country, and that I am indebted to Canada for rousing in me my Scots nationality. Some time ago my wife and I took a trip through the Canadian Rockies and spent ten days in Western Canada, and at every step there we found Scotsmen prosperous and successful. Then I thought my own little country was coming into its own, and I began to realise how Scottish I was myself. Everyone in Canada is not merely a Canadian but also a Scots-

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Canadian or an Irish-Canadian, and so on. You never hear of a Scots-Australian or an Irish-South African. It is a good thing to preserve the identity of race as you are doing it here in Canada.

We, in Scotland, were brought up with the idea of oppression by and successful struggle against England. Just as Canada has had a struggle to secure her own laws, we, in Scotland, also have our own laws distinct from those of England. It cannot be denied that in Canada and Australia and the other dominions there is a feeling of distrust of England, but this is not sufficient to interfere with the unity and solidarity of the Empire. There is no radical difference between your relations with England and Scotland's relations with England. But these relations and the memory of past struggles will not lead to disruption. There is this difference in the relations:—Scotland has sent its best men to the Imperial Parliament in considerable numbers, and it has a direct voice in Imperial concerns. The Colonies have not had in the Imperial Parliament men who could represent their country, and by force of their own personalities make its influence felt. I am an Imperialist, and wish that every part of the Empire should have a voice in the affairs and policy of the Empire. There are differences between the Mother Country and her colonies, and between the colonies themselves, but there are no differences which cannot be surmounted when the representatives of every part of the Empire meet in friendly conference, compare their differences and seek for a way out of them. I remember when Lord Rosebery first brought the position and strength of the colonies before the people of Great Britain. That was only 25 years ago, yet there is now no subject which is more frequently discussed, and more carefully considered than the subject of imperial unity.

I would like to say a few words upon the characteristic differences between the Englishman and the Scotsman, which is much the same as the difference between him and the man of the overseas dominions, or of continental Europe. Personally, I have the deepest respect and admiration for the English character. The chief objection made to the Englishman is his stand-offishness and appearance of reserve. It is universally admitted that there is no higher type of gentleman than the English gentleman, and I think that the real reason for his reserve is his

delicacy of feeling. The Scotsman is more brutal. If he meets a stranger casually he will talk to him and make friends with him as long as it suits him, but when he is inclined he will drop the friendship. The Englishman, on the other hand, is more reserved because he does not like dropping a man with whom he has once made friends. He has too much consideration for others to do so, which is an interesting and commendable trait in his character.

I have really taken a great deal of trouble to know Canada, though I have no business interests here. One of the things that struck me while on this Continent was the great difference between the habits and thought in England, and in newer and more progressive countries such as the United States and the British Dominions. In England the defence of existing conditions is the predominant thought; while in the young countries men's minds are fixed on present and future progress. England is just as alive as ever. She is far from being a crippled old mother—call her an elder sister of you like—but she has a different viewpoint to that of the Colonies on some matters. If she cannot get up enthusiasm for Imperial union that is no reason for pessimism.

Opposition to Imperial union is largely based on tradition, and this will pass away in time, in fact the old land is gradually being brought to understand the progressive point of view. It is true that the bulk of the English people are slow to take up Imperialism; but a revolution is now going on, and in ten years I expect to see an England with an entirely new outlook. Before long I am confident we will have an entirely remodelled England which will be capable of taking the same view as the younger countries.

Sometimes it is said that England does not provide funds for Canada as freely as Canadians would like to have them; but it must not be forgotten that London is the financial centre of the world, and is being continually drawn on from all sides. Canada is in reality looked upon with much favor as a field for investment. I am quite sure your great country has a certain preference in the minds of investors in England because she is the premier colony, and if money is not coming as freely as you would wish it is because other countries are coming up even more rapidly and paying higher interest. I am informed that con-

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siderable difficulty has been experienced of late by Canadian municipalities in obtaining finances from England, and they had to pay 5%, or more. But it must be remembered that municipal credit is limited, and should always have relation to the assessable value of the property. In some cases the demand for municipal expenditure has almost ruined cities, and this fact must necessarily militate against the obtaining of finances. In the west most of the municipalities have provided their own lighting and street car services because they wished to have them as nearly as possible at cost. To finance such revenue-producing enterprises money can readily be obtained; but there are certain municipal services for which money cannot be obtained so easily from investors, such as streets, sewers, and so on. Chicago was nearly ruined by the sudden demand for expenditure on new streets as the population increased rapidly. The investing public is divided into a great many classes, but in the case of most securities the small investor is the final absorbing ground. The number of this class which goes in for municipal securities is much smaller than the number which seeks investments of a wider scope; so that for lack of a ready market heavy strain is often put on buyers of municipal bonds. This problem is being worked in a methodical and careful way on the other side of the border, and as a result, private companies and corporations working public utilities are coming under municipal control. This is a hopeful sign, as it will mean the taking of public services outside the range of a certain class of promoter, and will help to get rid of the speculative margin and give a square deal all round.

Before concluding, I feel bound to utter a word in praise of the railway system of Canada. Never has such a perfect railway situation come under my notice. In the C. P. R. you have a monument of which every Canadian should be proud. Then you have the C. N. R. I doubt if ever in the history of the world there is any instance of such a large area of newly-settled territory being served so rapidly with railway accommodation. To-day the C. N. R. has got perhaps the best system of branch lines in the world. As for the G. T. P. I may say that I never travelled in greater comfort than on that splendid line. Unfortunately, it has no branch lines, so that in western Canada we have the curious spectacle of the backbone of a railway system being isolated from the ribs.

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If the railway situation is handled in the way it seems capable of being handled you may have here the most perfect railway organisation in the world. Not merely that, but you will have a system properly controlled which will enable the producer to transport his produce at a reasonable rate, and will also return to the investor a reasonable profit on his investment.

[April 7th, 1913]

SIR GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER

His Work for Canada and His Services to Montreal

By JOHN BOYD

Author of the Memorial History of the Life and Times of Sir George Cartier.

WHEN, in 1892, through the efforts of Mr. Charles R. McCullough, of Hamilton, the first Canadian Club was organized, a movement was inaugurated of the utmost importance to the Dominion. Every important centre throughout the country now has its Canadian Club, and these organizations, or as they have been well termed, these "universities of the people" now numbering nearly one hundred, are doing a splendid work in fostering a spirit of patriotism and in creating that national sentiment which is so essential to Canada's welfare. The Canadian Club of Montreal, composed as it is of the most representative citizens of the commercial metropolis, has ever been foremost in this great work, and it is indeed a privilege to have the opportunity of addressing such a gathering.

What more appropriate subject, Mr. Chairman, could be found for an address before a Canadian Club, than the career of one of our great nation-builders, of one who helped to lay the foundations of Canadian nationality and of the Dominion's greatness?

It is not my intention, Mr. Chairman, nor would time permit on this occasion, to deal exhaustively with the life and achievements of Sir George Etienne Cartier. That is now engaging my attention in another form, and when the Memorial History of the Life and Times of George Etienne Cartier shall appear, it will, I trust, be found to be at least an exhaustive review of a great career and of one of the most memorable periods of Canadian history. On this occasion, owing to the limited time at my disposal, I shall content myself with reviewing suc-

Sir George Etienne Cartier

cinctly Cartier's public career and achievements, dwelling briefly on the lessons of his life, with special emphasis upon the great work that he did for Canada in general and the eminent services which he rendered to the City of Montreal in particular.

I shall take it for granted, Gentlemen, that you are all conversant with the main facts of Cartier's career, from his birth at St. Antoine on the Richelieu River on September 6th, 1814, until his entrance to public life at the age of 34 in 1848, from that date until he became Prime Minister of United Canada in 1858, and from that until his death in 1873, when he held the portfolio of Minister of Militia and Defence in the Dominion Government.

Cartier's public career covered a period of some twenty-five years, that is to say, from 1848 to 1873. What fruitful efforts, what herculean labors, what great achievements, what struggles, defeats and triumphs were crowded within the compass of that career! The period which it covered was one of the most remarkable, if not the most remarkable, in the whole range of Canadian history. It was a period which witnessed many great constitutional changes, many transformations of parties, many fierce political struggles. It saw the beginning and the end of the Union, it marked the triumph of the long struggle for responsible government, it witnessed the birth of Confederation. It was a period fecund of great events and momentous developments, it was also a period rendered notable by the long succession of great statesmen whose names must forever be illustrious in Canadian history.

During all of that period Cartier played an active part and at times occupied a pre-eminent position.

At the beginning of his career, Cartier was a zealous reformer. In his youth, like so many other ardent spirits of the time, he came under the influence of Louis Joseph Papineau, when that great French Canadian tribune, with his incomparable eloquence, was thundering against those administrative abuses which were directly responsible for the troubles of the period. Nor was Papineau alone in his opposition to what Cartier described as the action of a minority which sought to dominate the majority and exploit the government in its own interests. Papineau, it should be remembered had the support of leading English-speaking Canadians, such as the distinguished Wolfred Nelson,

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afterwards Mayor of Montreal; in fact, it is a noteworthy historical feature that some of the leading figures in the struggle for responsible government in Lower Canada were English-speaking. Cartier's participation in the rising of 1837 was due to the ardor and impetuosity of youth and the sincere convictions he held that the prevailing evils called for drastic measures. His experience convinced him of the folly of an appeal to arms; he realized that the remedy for existing evils must be sought, not through armed resistance to the constituted authorities, but through constitutional agitation and legislative action. He became a staunch supporter of LaFontaine's policy, and one of his earliest campaign speeches was made in advocacy of the principle of ministerial responsibility during the crisis resulting from the resignation of the LaFontaine-Baldwin Government in 1844. In 1848, when Cartier first entered Parliament, the struggle for responsible government, thanks to the efforts of those two great statesmen, Louis Hypolite LaFontaine and Robert Baldwin, whose names will forever be held in the highest honor by all Canadians, had been fought and won. When justice had been secured and existing abuses remedied by the granting of responsible government, Cartier became, and ever afterwards continued to be, one of the warmest supporters and most zealous champions of British institutions, a strong advocate of the maintenance of British connection and a passionate lover of the British flag.

Cartier was the destined successor of LaFontaine in the great work of reconstruction, pacification, and conciliation, and when LaFontaine retired in 1851, and was followed a few years later by that other eminent French-Canadian statesman, Auguste Norbert Morin, Cartier's path to the leadership of his native province was clear. For years he was the undisputed leader; his voice, as has been well said, was the voice of Quebec.

The struggle for responsible government having been won, an era of marked industrial expansion and development followed under the Union. It was an era of railway building, of canal construction, of the establishment of great public works. Cartier, owing to his practical qualities, his great business abilities, his mastery of details, and his administrative capacities, was eminently qualified to obtain a leading position during such a period.

Sir George Etienne Cartier

He achieved distinction as a reformer, as an able administrator, as a legislator, and as a constructive statesman. His name is attached to some of the most important Acts of a period prolific of important legislation. It is sufficient to mention in this connection such measures as the construction of the Montreal and Portland Railway, the decentralization of the judiciary, the codification of the civil laws and of civil procedure, the modification of the criminal law, the Municipal Act of Lower Canada, the Act relating to registration offices, the abolition of the seigniorial tenure, the choice of Ottawa as the Capital of Canada, the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway and the Victoria Bridge, the organization of the educational system of Lower Canada, the improvement and deepening of the St. Lawrence, the building of canals, the union of the provinces of British North America, the acquisition of the North-West Territories, the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, the establishment of the Province of Manitoba, the admission of British Columbia into Confederation, the establishment of the militia system and the initiation of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It would not be in accordance with that absolute truth which is demanded of history, even to infer that to Cartier alone is due the credit for the passage of all of these great measures. Many eminent men contributed by their efforts to their achievement. But to Cartier may fairly be adjudged the merit without detracting from the merits of others, of having taken an active part in the achievement of all of these important measures, of having devoted his great energies and abilities to their accomplishment, and of having played a determining part in the achievement of some of them. Some of these measures were of material benefit to the progress of the country. The legal reforms for which Cartier is entitled to the sole credit, constitute in themselves a monument to his wise statesmanship. Other measures in which he played a determining part, such as Confederation, were of an epoch-making character, in connection with Canada's national development and well-being. As an eminent French-Canadian writer, the late Senator Tasse, has well remarked, more than one of these measures would have been sufficient to immortalize Cartier. He was, to use Senator Tasse's words, at one and the same time a legislator, a founder of constitutions, a peaceful conqueror.

CARTIER AND CONFEDERATION

The greatest work in which Cartier participated, and in which it is freely acknowledged he played a determining part, was, of course, the establishment of Confederation. The idea of a union of all the provinces of British North America did not originate with Cartier, any more than it originated with Macdonald, Tupper, Tilley, Brown or the other great Fathers of Confederation. Proposals to that effect had been made long before, and the idea was one that had arisen in many minds as a desirable consummation and as a remedy for the chaotic conditions which then prevailed. But the idea was one that was heartily supported by Cartier from a very early period, and to the Cartier-Macdonald Government of which he became the head in 1858 as Prime Minister of United Canada must be given the credit of having taken the first practical steps to bring about Confederation. One of the items of that government's programme was the union of the British North American provinces, and soon after the close of the session of 1858, a delegation composed of three members of the Government, Cartier himself, A. T. Galt, and John Rose went to England to press the matter upon the Imperial Government. A memorandum submitted to the Imperial authorities and signed by Cartier, Galt and Rose urged the Imperial Government to take steps to have a meeting of delegates from all the British North American provinces to consider the question of Confederation and to report upon it.

Though the steps taken in 1858 had no immediate result, the fact remains that the Government of which Cartier was the head, was the first to take up the question of the union of the British North American provinces, that, as the lamented Thomas D'Arcy McGee remarked in his great speech during the Confederation debate "the first real stage of the success of Confederation, the thing that gave importance to the theory in men's minds, was the memorandum of 1858, signed by Cartier, Galt and Rose. The recommendation in that memorandum" said McGee, "lay dormant until revived by the Constitutional Committee which led to the coalition, which led to the Quebec Conference, which led to the draft of the Constitution now on our table, and which" added McGee with assurance "will lead, I am fain to believe, to the union of all these provinces,"—an assurance, which was not long afterwards happily fulfilled.

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Cartier was the leader of the Quebec wing of the Coalition Ministry. He was a delegate to the Charlottetown Conference, as well as a member of the Quebec Conference. He took a leading part in the Confederation debates, ably defending the measure against the attacks made upon it. With Macdonald, Brown and Galt he was deputed after the scheme had been adopted by the Legislature to go to England to confer with Her Majesty's Government; he was also one of the delegates who sat in Conference from the 4th to the 24th December, 1866, at the Westminster Palace Hotel in London, and at which a series of 69 resolutions, based on those of the Quebec Conference, were finally passed. The sittings of that famous conference were renewed early in January of 1867, a series of draft bills were drawn up, and revised by the Imperial law officers, a bill was submitted to the Imperial Parliament in February, and on March 29th, under the title of the British North America Act, it received the royal assent. A royal proclamation issued from Windsor Castle on May 22nd, 1867, appointed July 1st as the date upon which the Act should come into force, and the following first of July witnessed the birth of what the Governor-General, Lord Monck, well designated as "a new nationality."

The men who assembled at Quebec on October 10th, 1864, to devise means for bringing about the union of the British North American provinces, had momentous problems to solve, but they were all men of the most ardent patriotism, of the broadest views, and with a firm determination to carry to a successful issue the great work with which they had been entrusted. How they succeeded in their task we all know. It has been well remarked by one of the biographers of Sir John A. Macdonald that there are three men besides Macdonald who in the establishment of Confederation and in securing the large results which followed from that epoch-making measure, demand special mention. Those men were George Etienne Cartier, Charles Tupper, and Leonard Tilley.* Justice demands that George Brown should also be named amongst the great Fathers of Confederation, for without the co-operation of that eminent Liberal statesman it is questionable whether Confederation under the circumstances could have been effected at that time. It

*Dr. Parkin—*Life of Sir John A. Macdonald.*

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was George Brown who made the proposals which rendered the coalition ministry possible, and by sinking all party considerations and personal differences in a grave crisis of his country's history, he performed a signal act of patriotism which entitles his name to a high place on Canada's roll of honor. It was in fact a striking lesson in patriotism and in devotion to country, to find men like Macdonald and Cartier on the one hand, and Brown on the other, forgetting all past differences and even bitter personal animosities, and sitting at the same council board to devise means by which the public interests might be served at a most critical juncture. Nor, amongst the leading Fathers of Confederation must Sir A. T. Galt be forgotten, for that distinguished statesman was a most zealous advocate of Confederation, holding that unless a union was effected, the provinces would inevitably drift into the United States. During the parliamentary session of 1858 he strongly advocated the federal union of all the British North American provinces, and as has been justly said, the resolutions which Galt then moved in favor of such a union, entitle him to a high place amongst the promoters of Confederation (*).

Of the thirty-two statesmen who assembled at Quebec in 1864 and framed the Quebec resolutions which formed the basis of Confederation, but one survives to-day, and the Cartier Centenary movement has the privilege of having that great statesman whose name will forever be linked with the names of Macdonald and Cartier, as its patron. Still hale and hearty in his 92nd year, Sir Charles Tupper enjoys the veneration and esteem of all Canadians. It has been justly said by Sir John A. Macdonald's biographer, that in the "reconciliation of Nova Scotia to Confederation; in carrying out a great expensive and hazardous railway policy; in the establishment of a national fiscal system; in making Canadian expansion compatible with complete allegiance to the Empire, the aid which Macdonald received from Sir Charles Tupper, can scarcely be exaggerated. In him great natural ability and power as a platform speaker were united with a splendid optimism about his country, a courage that feared nothing, and a resoluteness of purpose which despised any obstacles with which he could be confronted"**

(*) John Lewis—*Life of George Brown.*

**Dr. Parkin—*Life of Sir John A. Macdonald.*

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It is not minimizing the services of any of the other illustrious Fathers of Confederation, to say that Cartier played a leading, in fact, a determining part, in the achievement of that measure. His great colleagues have generously testified to the pre-eminent services which he rendered at that time.

"Cartier was as bold as a lion. He was just the man I wanted; but for him Confederation could not have been carried," was the emphatic declaration made by Sir John A. Macdonald on the day when he unveiled the statue of his great colleague at Ottawa.

Sir Charles Tupper's tribute is equally eloquent and emphatic. "I have no hesitation" he says "in saying that without "Cartier there would have been no Confederation, and therefore "Canada owes him a debt that can never be repaid."

Dr. Parkin in his life of Sir John A. Macdonald, in the "Makers of Canada" series, also pays a just tribute to Cartier for his work in connection with Confederation when he says: "Without Cartier's loyal help, it would scarcely have been possible, when the effort for union came, to allay the anxiety of "the French-Canadians lest they should be swallowed up, and "their individuality be lost in the large proposed confederacy."

Cartier's position at that time, it must be remembered, was an extremely difficult one, in fact, it is the difficulties which he then encountered and the manner in which he triumphed over them, that entitle him to all the more credit. "Never did a French-Canadian statesman" as an eminent French-Canadian writer has remarked, "have to face a greater responsibility than that which Cartier assumed the day when he had the alternative of accepting or refusing Confederation. Neither Papineau nor Lafontaine had to place in the balance such grave issues. Their role was reduced to demanding liberty for Canadians. Cartier had to choose between a problematical future and a recognized state of affairs, with well-defined advantages. Would as many guarantees be found in the edifice which was to be constructed? By accepting the confederation of the provinces, was it not leaving the certain for the uncertain? Such were the questions which agitated minds anxiously weighed."*

*A. D. DeCelles, *Cartier Et Son Temps*.

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There was strong opposition to Confederation in Quebec as well as in other provinces. Cartier had to face the powerful attacks of redoubtable and able antagonists who maintained that Confederation would be detrimental to the interests of the French-Canadians. His contention was that with general interests entrusted to a central government and local interests to local legislatures, the rights of the French-Canadians would be amply safeguarded. Cartier maintained his position in the face of the most determined opposition and even against bitter personal attacks. He had his vindication when in the elections of 1867 the people of Quebec returned him to Parliament with a triumphant following.

And has not the course of events since Confederation vindicated the position which Cartier then took? The French-Canadians have not only enjoyed the fullest freedom in the direction of provincial affairs, but they have played a large and important part in the public life of Canada, a French-Canadian has occupied the exalted position of Prime Minister of the Dominion, and no matter whether they agree with his policy or not, all fair-minded Canadians must admit that Sir Wilfrid Laurier personally filled that great office with the utmost distinction, with credit to himself and to his country. Under Confederation there has been friction at times due in most cases to demagogic appeals to popular passion and racial feeling, but the sound common sense of the mass of the people has always asserted itself, and the governmental and legislative machinery has been found elastic enough to meet ever increasing demands.

A notable tribute was recently paid to Cartier and the other great Fathers of Confederation by that distinguished British statesman, diplomat, and author, Right Hon. James Bryce, when in addressing this Club a few weeks ago he said:—"Not less remarkable than your material progress has been the growth of your constitutional government, although in its early days there were not wanting people to show that Canada could never be a great nation. Your federal system has worked on the whole with wonderful success and with little friction. It has worked perhaps better than anywhere else in the world; I think the only example of equal success is that of Switzerland. You have had the great problem of two races living side by side, of peoples different in race and language, whom the federal system was

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designed to unite, while the federation of districts so dissimilar as the province of British Columbia, the prairies, and the Maritime Provinces shows that as far as adaptation to local conditions is concerned the federal system has been an unqualified success. And this success is a tribute to the capacity of the men who have governed as well as to those who framed the constitution."

The successful working of the federal system in Canada to which Mr. Bryce bore testimony, is another striking proof of the wise and far-sighted statesmanship of Cartier and the other public men who framed our constitution.

OTHER GREAT MEASURES

Confederation having been accomplished, Cartier's energies were directed to measures for the strengthening and federation of the national fabric. He was largely instrumental in determining the route of the Intercolonial Railway, and in having that road, which it is admitted has been a most important factor in consolidating the Dominion, completed. One of the most important measures of Cartier's public career was undoubtedly the one which, as Minister of Militia and Defence, he presented to Parliament on March 31st, 1868, and which provided for the organization of the Canadian Militia, a measure that is the basis of our whole militia system.

Confederation, as you know, originally included only the four provinces of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It was the desire of Cartier, as it was that of Macdonald, to see established a united Canada, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a great maritime as well as land power with the furthest east united to the furthest west by a great transcontinental railway system. When the union of the four provinces had been accomplished, Cartier was steadfast in his efforts to secure the accomplishment of the larger idea. He fully realized the possibilities of the great West and the importance of securing for the Dominion that vast territory, the development of which has been the marvel of the past quarter of a century. Largely through his efforts, the great western territory now forming the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, was secured from the Hudson's Bay Company on most advantageous terms. When we realize that this immensely rich territory, the "granary of the Empire" was acquired for the Dominion for the insignificant

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sum of \$1,500,000, largely through the negotiations which Cartier conducted in England, some idea of the importance of the services he rendered in that connection, may be formed. Cartier also framed the bill creating the Province of Manitoba, which he presented and had passed at the session of 1871. Only one thing was needed to round out Confederation, and that was the admission of British Columbia. In the negotiations which resulted in the admission of that great Province into the Dominion, Cartier played a leading part, and it was he, who on November 28th, 1871, presented the bill to Parliament providing that British Columbia should become a portion of the Dominion. On that occasion Cartier hailed the realization of his dream of a united Canada extending from ocean to ocean, with pardonable pride.

"I cannot close my explanations," he declared, "without impressing on the honorable members the greatness of the work. "This young Confederation is on the point of extending over the whole northern portion of the continent, and when we consider that it took our neighbors sixty years to extend to the Pacific, "where will be found in the history of the world anything comparable to our marvellous prosperity? I have always maintained that a nation to be great must have maritime power. "We possess maritime power in a high degree. Our union with the maritime provinces gives us a seaboard on the east, and now our union with British Columbia will give us a seaboard on the west."

With the admission of British Columbia to Confederation, the dream of Cartier and of Macdonald, of a united Canada extending from ocean to ocean, was realized. But one thing more was required to bind the scattered provinces firmly together—a great transcontinental railway. Cartier was one of the strongest advocates of such an undertaking, and to him belongs the glory of having had passed the first charter for the Canadian Pacific Railway. One of the terms of the union of British Columbia with Canada under the Act presented by Cartier, was the construction of such a road. It is related that the delegates of British Columbia during the negotiations urged upon Cartier that a railway should be built across the Prairies to the foot of the Rockies, and that a colonization road should be laid out from the foot of the Rockies to the Coast. "No." replied Cartier, "that will not do; ask for a railway the whole way and you will get it." Some leading public men of the time thought that

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Cartier was willing to undertake too great an obligation, but events have more than justified his optimism. At the session of 1872, Cartier presented resolutions providing for the construction of the Canadian Pacific. After a remarkable debate, a bill based on the resolutions was adopted, and Cartier, springing to his feet, gave utterance amidst loud cheers to the expression which has become historic: "All aboard for the West."

It was the last great triumph of his public career. He did not live to see the realization of his dream, for it was not until thirteen years afterwards, that is to say, on November 7th, 1885, that the last spike of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven by Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, at Craigellachie, a small village of British Columbia; and on July 24th, 1886, Cartier's great colleague and fellow-worker for a united Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald personally reached the Pacific by rail from Ottawa.

Though Cartier did not live to see the completion of the gigantic undertaking which meant so much for Canada, it is one of his chief merits that he was one of its initiators and strongest supporters, and that he foresaw and foretold its great future.

"Before very long," he declared, addressing Parliament, "the English traveller who lands at Halifax will be able in five "or six days to cover half of the continent inhabited by British "subjects."

How Cartier's prophecy has been fulfilled we all know. The traveller landing to-day at Halifax can reach Victoria by means of the Canadian Pacific in less than six days. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has become one of the greatest corporations in the world, operating not only a great trans-continental railway, and a chain of palatial hotels, but also possessing magnificent fleets on the Atlantic and the Pacific, with its vessels now encircling the globe. It has progressed stage by stage until under the able direction of its present distinguished head, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, it has attained the greatest position in its history. The company's expansion has in fact been one of the marvels of history, and with the continued development of the Dominion, its achievements, great as they have been, will undoubtedly be surpassed in the future. Cartier, by his strenuous advocacy of the construction of the road in days when faith in the future was at a discount, gave another

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evidence of his great foresight as well as of his faith in the future of the Dominion which he did so much to establish.

CARTIER AND MACDONALD

No review of Cartier's career, however summary, would be complete without some reference to the alliance that existed between him and that other great Canadian statesman, Sir John A. Macdonald, an alliance which was for a long period a most important factor in the public life of Canada. In his great painting, "The Fathers of Confederation," the artist Harris most appropriately places Macdonald and Cartier conspicuously in the centre of the group, and the names of those two great statesmen must forever be linked in connection with that epoch-making measure.

Macdonald and Cartier began their public careers within a few years of each other, Macdonald being first returned to Parliament in 1844, while Cartier became a member in 1848. The two men first became closely associated as members of the same Government, the MacNab-Tache Ministry, formed in 1855, in which ministry Macdonald held the portfolio of Attorney-General for Upper Canada while Cartier was Provincial Secretary, the first public office he held. From that time until the day of Cartier's death, the association between the two men remained practically unbroken. Their alliance, as has been well said, was based on equal consideration for the rightful claims of both nationalities.

Each of the two men had qualities not possessed by the other. Macdonald had a magnetic personality, he was a consummate tactician, an incomparable leader of men. He had that genius which enables its possessor to seize and make the most of an opportunity. He had that quality so indispensable in a great leader of gaining the loyal and devoted support of men of widely different characters and temperaments. Macdonald in short combined the grasp of a statesman with the arts of a politician. Cartier excelled as an administrator, he was a tireless and indefatigable worker who never spared himself and who expected others to follow his example. He studied and analysed all subjects which he had to handle to the very bottom, and when he came to discuss them he had a complete mastery of all the details. He was strong, nay, even dogmatic, in his convictions;

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once his mind was made up he pursued the path he had marked out for himself with persistent determination, heedless of all obstacles in his way. To his followers his word was law, and he exacted from them an unswerving obedience. His energy was prodigious; he deserved the designation given to him by Gladstone when that great statesman said that Cartier was "*un homme qui semble être legion*,"—a man who was a legion in himself. Cartier's was essentially a strong and determined character.

It was, of course, impossible that men of such different temperaments as Macdonald and Cartier, and representing often such divergent interests, should not have their differences sometimes, but whatever differences they may have had never interfered with the high personal esteem and regard they entertained for each other.

At a great banquet given in his honor by the Bar of Toronto on February 8th, 1866, Macdonald took occasion to pay a warm and generous tribute to his French-Canadian colleague who was one of the guests of honor.

"I wish to say," declared Macdonald, "that Hon. Mr. Cartier has a right to share in the honors which I am receiving to-night, because I have never made an appeal to him or to the Lower Canadians in vain. There is not in the whole of Canada a heart more devoted to his friends. If I have succeeded in introducing the institutions of Great Britain, it is due in great part to my friend, who has never permitted under his administrations that the bonds which attach us to England should be weakened."

Cartier was equally generous in appreciation of his great colleague. Speaking at a banquet tendered Macdonald by the citizens of Kingston on September 6th, 1866, Cartier said:

"Kingston is indeed a favored city, for it has for its representative a statesman who has never yet been surpassed in Canada, and who probably never will be in the future. I have had the happiness of being associated with the member for Kingston in my public career, and of having formed with him an alliance which has already lasted longer than all alliances of this kind in Canada. The success which we have obtained together has been due to the fact that we have repelled all sectional feelings and sought what might benefit Canada as a whole."

That was the keynote of the Cartier-Macdonald alliance, the subordination of all sectional and racial feeling to the welfare of Canada as a whole. Cartier throughout his long public career

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was essentially a peacemaker, who always strove to promote a better feeling between the two races. A striking testimony to the success of his efforts in that direction was given on one occasion in Parliament when Mr. Benjamin, a leading Ontario member, declared:—"I cannot refrain from acknowledging that Mr. Cartier has done more to unite the two races and to 're-establish harmony between them, than any other member of the House."

Well shall it always be for the Dominion, if its public men, no matter to what political party they may belong, always adhere to the sane and true principles upon which the Macdonald-Cartier alliance was based—mutual toleration and good-will, respect for the rights of all, the co-operation of races, the safeguarding of Canada's autonomy, and the development of Canadian nationality. The Macdonald-Cartier alliance in fact symbolized that union which should always exist between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. And why should not there be union? What matters it whether we speak different languages or worship at different altars, if we always remember that we are all Canadians, mutually interested in the welfare and aggrandizement of our common country. That was the spirit which actuated both Cartier and Macdonald during their long association, and it will be well if such a spirit always prevails in the Dominion. It is only, in fact, upon such a basis that the permanence of Confederation, of which Macdonald and Cartier were the principal architects, can be assured.

FOR CANADIAN NATIONALITY

The aim of Macdonald, Cartier, and the other great Fathers of Confederation, was to establish broad and deep the foundations of a Canadian Nationality, based on the broadest principles of justice, tolerance, and equal rights. All their public utterances during the Confederation negotiations testify to this fact. Macdonald's conception was that as the Dominion progressed it would become, to use his own words, year by year less a case of dependence on our part, and of overwhelming protection on the part of the Mother Country, and more a case of healthy and cordial alliance, that instead of looking upon us as a merely dependent colony, England would have in us a friendly nation—a subordinate but still a powerful people—to stand by her in North America in peace or war.

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It is given to some men to have a vision that foresees the future and enables them to provide for momentous developments. Both Cartier and Macdonald were such men. It is in fact the supreme merit of Cartier that whilst always standing firmly for the rights of his French-Canadian compatriots, his vision was not confined to the Province of Quebec. If any one does, Cartier deserves the distinction of being known as a great Canadian. There was nothing narrow or provincial in his views. His idea was a united Canada, stretching from ocean to ocean, in which men of all races, languages and creeds should work together as brethren for the welfare and advancement of their common country. Cartier's desire was that his French-Canadian compatriots should not confine their attention to the Province of Quebec, but should take their full share in the life of the Dominion, that they should above all rejoice in the name "Canadian," be proud of the great Dominion and work for its welfare in co-operation with their English-speaking fellow countrymen.

"Objection is made to our project," says Cartier, in his "great speech during the Confederation debates, "because of the "words 'a new nationality.' But if we unite we will form a "political nationality independent of the national origin and "religion of individuals. Some have regretted that we have a "distinction of races and have expressed the hope that in time "this diversity will disappear. The idea of a fusion of all races "is utopian, it is an impossibility. Distinctions of this character "will always exist, diversity is the order of the physical, moral "and political worlds. As to the objection that we cannot form "a great nation because Lower Canada is principally French "and Catholic, Upper Canada English and Protestant, and the "Maritime Provinces mixed, it is futile in the extreme.

"Take for example the United Kingdom, inhabited as it is "by three great races. Has the diversity of races been an ob- "stacle to the progress and the welfare of Great Britain? Have "not the three races united by their combined qualities, their "energy and their courage, contributed to the glory of the Empire, "to its laws of wise, to its success on land, on sea, and in "commerce?

"In our Confederation there will be Catholics and Protes- "tants, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by its efforts "and success will add to the prosperity of the Dominion, to the "glory of a new Confederation. We are of different races, "not to quarrel, but to work together for our common welfare. "We cannot by law make the differences of race disappear, but "I am convinced that the Anglo-Canadian and the French-

"Canadian will appreciate the advantages of their position. "Set side by side like a great family, their contact will produce "a happy spirit of emulation. The diversity of race will in fact, "believe me, contribute to the common prosperity."

What words of wisdom! What a spirit of true patriotism, of justice and of toleration they breathe! If Cartier in fact had never made any other utterance than this, it would be sufficient to stamp him as a true patriot and wise statesman. It will be well for Canada if such are always the guiding principles of its national life.

While the idea of Macdonald and Cartier and the other great Fathers of Confederation was, as has been said, to establish a Canadian nationality, none the less was it their intention to perpetuate British institutions on the North American continent, to establish, to use Macdonald's expression, a friendly nation, enjoying, it is true, the most complete autonomy, but at the same time in alliance with Great Britain and the other portions of the Empire. No stronger believer in British institutions as the repository of freedom; no more ardent admirer of the British flag as the symbol of justice and liberty could be found than Cartier. In all his utterances during the Confederation debates, he took special pains to emphasize that Condeferation was intended not to weaken, but to strengthen, the ties between the Dominion, Great Britain and the other portions of the Empire. "Confederation," he said, in one of his speeches on the measure, "has for its first reason our common affection for British institutions, its object is to assure by all possible guarantees, their "maintenance in the future."

For the British flag Cartier on all occasions expressed a passionate devotion.

"The Canadian people," he said at a great banquet given in his honor in London in 1869, "desire to remain faithful to "the old flag of Great Britain, that flag which waves over all "seas, which tyranny has never been able to overcome, that "flag which symbolizes true liberty."

These words expressed Cartier's deep and earnest conviction. During his several visits to Great Britain, he was deeply impressed by the greatness of British institutions. On those occasions he was the recipient of signal marks of honor; he was the personal guest of Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle for some time, and he received marked attention from Gladstone, Lord Lytton,

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and other distinguished British statesmen. His services in connection with the establishment of Confederation, as you know, were recognized by the conferring of a baronetcy upon him by Queen Victoria.

CARTIER'S WORK FOR MONTREAL

Having reviewed the great work which Cartier did for Canada in general, permit me to emphasize the eminent services which he rendered to Montreal. It is doubtful whether many Montrealers of the present generation fully realize the importance of Cartier's services to this city, and for that reason this portion of his career should be of special interest to citizens of this great metropolis.

From 1861 until 1872 Cartier was one of the representatives of Montreal, first in the Parliament of United Canada, and afterwards in the House of Commons. During a portion of that period, he also represented Montreal-East in the Quebec Legislature under the system of dual representation which prevailed for some time following the establishment of Confederation. Montreal's interests were always dear to Cartier's heart, and throughout his long public career he zealously strove to promote the welfare and development of this city.

Reference has already been made to the interest which Cartier showed from the outset of his career in railway construction. He realized that in order that Montreal might attain an unrivalled position, it would be necessary that railway communications should be established, that the St. Lawrence channel should be deepened, and that canals should be constructed and improved. One of the earliest of his speeches of which we have record was delivered at a great mass-meeting of the citizens of Montreal, held in 1846, on the Champ de Mars, to promote the construction of the Montreal & Portland Railway to connect Montreal and Portland. Cartier on that occasion declared that such an undertaking was a truly national work. Alluding to the fact that property in such cities as Buffalo, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, which had become great railway terminals, had as a result greatly increased in value, he declared that the same thing would happen in the case of Montreal if adequate railway facilities were established.

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"The prosperity of Montreal," he said, "depends upon its position as the great emporium for the commerce of the West, and we can only assure that prosperity by better means of transport from the waters of the West to the Atlantic by our canals and railways."

When he became a member of Parliament Cartier continued his agitation for adequate railway facilities, and one of the first speeches he delivered in the legislature of United Canada, February 15th, 1849, was in advocacy of the completion of the Montreal & Portland Railway.

"There is no time to lose in the completion of the road," said Cartier on that occasion, "if we wish to assure for ourselves the commerce of the West. All the cities of the Atlantic Coast are disputing for that commerce."

Referring to the efforts being made by New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other American cities to capture this commerce, Cartier said:—"In seeing the efforts that an intelligent population is making, we cannot doubt the importance of the trade of the lakes which they covet and the profits which will result. Now, we may secure the greater part of that trade by constructing this road as soon as possible."

At another great mass meeting of the citizens of Montreal, held at the Bonsecours Market on July 31st, 1849, at which resolutions were adopted favoring the completion of the Montreal & Portland Railway, on motion of Cartier, seconded by John Rose, it was resolved that the city should take shares in the company. Cartier on that occasion made a fervent appeal that the interests of Montreal should be considered.

"I do not fear to say," he declared, "that Montreal will be recreant to its best interests, and will be the most backward of cities if it neglects the means that is offered it to reclaim a prosperity which is now leaving it. I appeal to the large proprietors, to the small proprietors who make the prosperity of the large ones, and to the industrial and working classes which make the prosperity of both. We have an exceptional chance to attract foreign capital. The city has only to guarantee a bagatelle compared to the enormous debts contracted by the smaller cities of the United States to attract capital which passes through the hands of tradesmen and workingmen, to relieve trade which is languishing. It is an advantage which will be enjoyed even before the work is completed."

Cartier pointed out that New York had contracted a debt of \$25,000,000 to provide proper railway facilities, as it had sufficient faith in itself and in the spirit of enterprise of its citizens to discount the future.

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"The time has come," said Cartier, addressing the citizens of Montreal, "to belie your reputation as apathetic men without "energy and without a spirit of enterprise. Let those terms "cease to be applied to the name 'Canadian.' This great meeting "is one of the first to be held in a city of the British Provinces "to encourage an enterprise of this importance. It is proper that "the example should come from Montreal, the commercial head "of British America. It should show itself worthy of its position. "Let us arouse ourselves, let us agitate."

Cartier had the vision to foresee the great future in store for Montreal, if adequate transportation facilities were provided.

"Montreal," he prophetically declared on the same occasion, "is destined to become the great emporium of the West. Without railways and canals it will be impossible for it to attain the "glorious position which will make it one of the principal cities "of the continent."

Largely as the result of Cartier's persistent efforts, the Montreal & Portland Railway, which for a long time was the only outlet during the winter for Canadian produce, destined for Europe, was completed, and inaugurated in 1851, being subsequently absorbed by the Grand Trunk Railway Company. Before the completion of this road, it must be remembered that there were only some seventy miles of railway in all Canada, the first road, the Laprairie and St. John's having been opened only a few years before, that is to say, on July 21st, 1836. When we consider that to-day the total mileage of railways in Canada is 35,000 miles, that last year our combined railways built 1,970 miles of new railway, on which was spent \$30,000,000, and that the programme for this year provides for 2,700 miles of new track, costing \$41,000,000, some idea may be obtained of the advance that has been made. Cartier deserves the credit of having been one of the first to realize the importance of railway construction in connection with the development of the country and of having been one of the strongest supporters of a forward policy in this respect—a policy to which we owe the three splendid railway systems we have to-day—the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk, and the work of those two great railway men, Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann—the Canadian Northern.

One of Cartier's chief claims to honor is that it was he who secured the incorporation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which has done so much for the development of Canada in general

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and the City of Montreal in particular. Cartier always took the greatest pride in that fact. In a speech delivered in the legislature he declared that he regarded the construction of the Grand Trunk as the greatest benefit that had ever been conferred on the country. "I had charge of the Act which created the "Grand Trunk Railway," he added, "and I am prouder of that "than of any other action of my life." The Grand Trunk at the outset of its history had many difficulties, financial and otherwise, to encounter, and it was due to Cartier's efforts in a large measure, that the company was able to tide over these difficulties and that its success was assured.

Reviewing his public career at a great banquet given in his honor by the citizens of Montreal, on October 30th, 1866, on the eve of his departure for London as one of the Confederation delegates, Cartier referring to the efforts he had made on behalf of the Grand Trunk said:—"In 1852-53, encouraged by the "Hincks-Morin Ministry, I asked for the incorporation of the "Grand Trunk Railway Company, and I had it voted despite "the most furious opposition. I also had the construction of "the Victoria Bridge voted. You will recall the prejudices "there were against that measure. It was a work which would "produce floods in Montreal, it was a means to divert commerce "towards Portland. But the prejudice, against these great "measures were soon dissipated, it was only a passing tempest. "It was so, too, for the Grand Trunk and the Victoria Bridge. "The Grand Trunk and the Victoria Bridge have flooded Montreal "with an abundance of prosperity. What would Montreal be "without the Grand Trunk? It has assured for us the commerce "of the West."

Addressing the electors of Montreal-East when seeking re-election in 1867, Cartier, referring to the construction of the Victoria Bridge, said:—"You know that there existed considerable jealousy or rivalry between Quebec and Montreal, and "that the two cities sought at the same time to secure the possession of a bridge across the river. I will not stop to discuss "the advantages of such a bridge. Thanks to my efforts, I am "proud to be able to say Montreal finally secured it. Montreal "has the Victoria Bridge. The results you know. Our city "since then has had a considerable development which Confederation, I am certain, will increase."

When we consider the important factor that the Grand Trunk Railway Company has been in the development of Eastern Canada, and what its associate company, the Grand Trunk

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Pacific, will be in the opening up and development of rich new districts in the West, it will be realized that Cartier in the part he played in the creation and assistance of this great railway system, rendered another most important service to Canada.

St. Lawrence navigation and the advancement of the Port of Montreal found in Cartier a steadfast advocate, and the Allan Line which was the pioneer in ocean navigation via the St. Lawrence, secured from him the heartiest encouragement and support. Speaking in the Legislative Assembly in 1860, in favor of a proposal to increase the mail subsidy to the Allans, Cartier warmly supported means to increase navigation by the St. Lawrence. It was humiliating, he declared, to see nearly all our imports arriving by the steamships, the railways, and the canals of the United States. "Let us rise," he said, "to the "height of the changes wrought by progress, for we are at the "beginning of a new era which will eclipse anything we have "yet seen." The improvement of the harbor and port of Montreal always found in Cartier a zealous advocate, as he fully realized how important it was for Montreal's progress and prosperity.

Cartier persistently advocated the enlargement of the canals, so as to divert the commerce of the West from American ports to this port, and thus benefit the City of Montreal. In a speech on the deepening of Lake St. Peter, delivered in the Parliament of United Canada on May 11th, 1860, he said:— "Up to the present all our debt has been contracted for the "execution of very important public works—the Welland Canal, "the St. Lawrence Canal, the Rideau Canal, the Lachine Canal, "etc. But we have not yet attained our object, which is to divert "the commerce of the great lakes from the American routes to "the St. Lawrence. This commerce continues to pass by New "York and Pennsylvania, and all that we see is the traffic des- "tined for Ogdensburg and Oswego. What means should be "taken to remedy this condition of affairs? We have come to "the conclusion to abolish all tolls on the canals, and to make the "St. Lawrence route perfectly free from the ocean to the great "lakes."

In reply to a remark by George Brown that the measure seemed to be designed to attract the commerce of the West to Montreal, to the detriment of Upper Canada, Cartier said:— "I do not see why it should be apprehended that Montreal will "secure so many advantages from this amelioration. This city

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"is at the head of navigation, and is the principal centre of "commerce; it is inspired by the spirit of progress, and I believe "that in place of jealousy, all should be proud of its success. "Whatever they can do, they can never prevent its being the "most important city of the country, and from becoming a rival "of the great American cities."

Reference has been made to the prominent part that Cartier took in advocating the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway; and in desiring to see the accomplishment of that great undertaking, he had an eye to the interests of Montreal. In a speech to the electors of Montreal-East on August 8th, 1872, he promised that Montreal would be the principal terminus of that great road. "I have," he said, to the citizens of Montreal on that occasion, "devoted all my efforts to further your interests "and I have always desired that Montreal should have the lion's "share."

The mercantile and business interests always found in Cartier a friend, in fact had he not been a public man, it is likely that his inclinations would have made him a great business man.

"Merchants," he said, speaking at a dinner tendered him by the merchants of Quebec, on December 23rd, 1869, "contribute greatly to the progress of the country. Without the English merchants, England could not have kept its possessions "in the world. Like Rome she would have lost her Colonies "soon after their conquest. But the English merchant was the "means of forming bonds between the new possessions of the "Empire. I respect the interests of those here present. Those "interests have greatly contributed to render Canada prosperous. Those who devote themselves to commerce form in every "country one of the most important classes of society."

Cartier's efforts on behalf of the mercantile interests of Montreal, and his faith in the future of this city never wavered, and he predicted its great expansion in wealth and population.

"Our city," he said, addressing the electors of Montreal-East in 1867, "now counts 150,000 souls. In twenty years under Confederation, I predict that it will have more than 250,000 "inhabitants."

How Cartier's faith in Montreal has been justified, we all know. What was at the time he spoke a town of 150,000 people, has become a great metropolis of over 600,000 souls, and it is destined to have before many years a population of over one million people.

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As Montrealers we are all, as we have a right to be, proud of the great position which the city has attained, and of the still greater future which awaits it. Let us, in its day of greatness not forget those, like Cartier, who in the days of small things foresaw the great future before Montreal and gave their best efforts to promote its interests.

To the very end of his public career, Cartier's interest in the welfare of Montreal and his efforts to promote its advancement continued. His own words conveyed but the simple truth when he said in one of his last addresses, to his fellow citizens: "I frankly avow that all that my heart inspires, all that my 'knowledge and experience furnish, have been devoted to the 'welfare and prosperity of my compatriots in general and of 'Montreal in particular."

Like many other statesmen, Cartier experienced the vicissitudes, as well as the triumphs, of public life. His last appeal to the electors of Montreal, made when he was practically a dying man, resulted, owing to a combination of circumstances, in his crushing defeat. He was greeted not with bouquets but with stones, from people of a city for which he had worked so hard, and for the advancement of which he had done so much. Another seat was found for him in Provencher, Manitoba, but his public career was over. In an effort to secure the restoration of his health he went to England, but the hope was vain; the incessant labors of a long public career had broken down a naturally robust constitution, and the great statesman passed away in London, England, on May 23rd, 1873. His last thoughts were for his beloved country.

"Say to his friends in Canada," wrote one of his daughters in a touching letter announcing his death to a friend in Montreal, "say to his friends in Canada that he loved his country to the last, that his only desire was to return. Two days before his death he had all the Canadian newspapers read to him. Even 'his enemies, I hope, will not refuse to admit that before all he 'loved his country."

The national mourning that followed the announcement of his death, the encomiums pronounced by the newspapers of all shades of opinion, the eulogies delivered in Parliament, the scene of his labors for so many years, and the imposing public funeral that was given his remains in Montreal, all bore eloquent testimony to the fact that the Canadian people, regardless of

party, recognized that in his death Canada had indeed lost one who before all had loved his country. His remains rest beneath the soil of Mount Royal, which overlooks the city that he loved so well, and for the interests of which he worked so hard.

LESSONS OF CARTIER'S LIFE

What were the lessons of Cartier's life? They may be summed up in the three words—patriotism, duty, and tolerance. He loved his country and sought to promote its interests, he wore himself out in the discharge of his public duties, he was a man of the broadest views and the utmost tolerance. As Sir Adolphe Routhier has well remarked, to most public men public life is a career, but for Cartier it was an apostolate, a patriotic mission, and to fulfill that mission he sacrificed everything, even the modest fortune of which his family had need.(*)

A French-Canadian and proud of his origin, a Roman Catholic and true to his faith, strong in his convictions, Cartier at the same time was a man of generous sympathies, of broad views, and great tolerance. His charity was broad enough to include men of all races, languages, and creeds. "My policy, and I think it best," he said on one occasion, "is respect for the 'rights of all.'" Actuated by that spirit he stood firmly on all occasions where there was justification for the rights of minorities, whether French or English, Catholic or Protestant. At the time of Confederation, for instance, some fear was expressed that the interests of the Protestant minority of Quebec would be jeopardized under the new constitution. Cartier pledged his word that nothing of the kind would happen. "I have already 'had occasion to proclaim in Parliament,'" he said, addressing the citizens of Montreal, "that the Protestant minority of 'Lower Canada have nothing to fear from the Provincial Legislature under Confederation. My word is given, and I repeat 'that nothing will be done of a nature to injure the principles 'and the rights of that minority."

Cartier's pledge, it is needless to say, has been sacredly kept.

On the same occasion, Cartier showed his largeness of views by declaring:—"You know that I am a Catholic. I love my "religion, believing it the best, but whilst proudly declaring myself a Catholic, I believe it my duty as a public man to respect "the sincerity and the religious convictions of others. I am

(*) Sir Adolphe Routhier—Conférence sur Sir George Etienne Cartier issued by the Cartier Centenary Committee in pamphlet form.

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"also a French-Canadian. I love my race. I, of course, have "for it a predilection which is assuredly only natural, but as a "public man and as a citizen, I also love others."

Such were Cartier's guiding principles throughout life.

Cartier, like all other human beings, had his faults, as well as his virtues, his public career was not without mistakes, but nobody ever questioned his ardent love for his country, his absolute sincerity, his high sense of honor, his personal honesty and integrity, his fearless energy, and the firmness with which he always stood for his convictions. His motto "*Franc Et Sans Dol*"—"Frank and Without Deceit," well describes the character of the man.

Did time permit, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, a great deal more might be said of Cartier and his works. But has not sufficient been said to justify the contention that Cartier was a great Canadian, a nation-builder in the truest sense of that term, one whose memory is entitled to lasting honor from all Canadians? Does not the summary record of his career, which has been given, amply justify the declaration of the great Lord Dufferin that Cartier's name must forever be indissolubly incorporated with the most eventful and most glorious epoch of his country's history, commencing as it did with his entrance into political life and culminating in that consolidation of the Provinces to which his genius, courage and ability so materially contributed.

Macdonald, Cartier, Tupper, Tilley, Brown, Galt, and the other great Fathers of Confederation built better even than they knew. As the result of their wise statesmanship and patriotic efforts, Canada to-day stands a young giant amongst the peoples of the world. Under Confederation there has been witnessed a marvellous expansion and an unprecedented prosperity. We have to-day, to use the words of one of the most patriotic of our national poets, John Daniel Logan,—we have to-day a land:—

Blessed with youth and strength, with health and peace.

And great as is the position of the Dominion at present, it is insignificant to what it will be if Canadians are only true to the teachings of the Fathers, if they all work together for the common welfare, if they are true to the national interests of the Dominion, and guard their great heritage against all influences of an insidious character.

HONOR CARTIER'S MEMORY

Canadians do well to honor the memories of those great men who laid broad and deep the foundations of Canadian nationality, and who accomplished great works for the welfare of the Dominion. In the leading cities of Canada, stately monuments attest the recognition of a grateful people of the services of that great Father of Confederation, and that illustrious Canadian statesman, Sir John A. Macdonald. Brown and Tilley, too, have their monuments. Sir Charles Tupper is still happily with us in person, and I am sure that we all trust that his life may long be spared. His name will always be remembered as that of one of the leading Fathers of Confederation and one of our greatest statesmen.

Does not justice demand that fitting honor should be done to that other great Father of Confederation, Sir George Etienne Cartier, by the erection of a memorial in the city which he represented in Parliament for so many years, and for whose interests he strove so zealously?

When in November, 1910, at a meeting held at the St. Jean Baptiste Market Hall in this city, it was proposed by Mr. E. W. Villeneuve, now President of the Cartier Centenary Committee, whom we have with us to-day, that the centenary of Cartier's birth should be appropriately commemorated, and that steps should be taken for the erection of a monument to his memory, the proposal was enthusiastically taken up. Since then the movement has assumed not only a national but an Empire scope, and representatives of every portion of the Empire will be present at the commemorative celebration next year. The movement, it may be mentioned is absolutely non-partisan in character, it being recognized that Cartier's memory is a national possession. The Prime Minister of the Dominion, Right Hon. R. L. Borden; the leader of the Liberal Party, Sir Wilfrid Laurier; the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec, Sir Lomer Gouin; the Prime Ministers of all the Provinces; leading Liberals as well as Conservatives, throughout the Dominion, have united to render homage to the memory of one who did so much for Canada. Thanks to the co-operation and support of the Dominion Government and the Governments of all the Provinces, the erection of a splendid memorial, which will stand on one of the slopes of

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Mount Royal, and the first stone of which will be laid by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, on September 1st next, is now practically assured. The memorial, the work of the eminent Canadian sculptor, Mr. G. W. Hill, will not only serve to honor and perpetuate Cartier's memory, but will also commemorate the establishment of Confederation, in which he played such a conspicuous part. In addition to the imposing statue of Cartier the memorial will bear statues representing every one of the nine provinces of the Dominion, the whole symbolical of that United Canada, which was one of Cartier's cherished dreams.

In connection with the unveiling of the memorial, it is proposed to hold a series of commemorative celebrations, and it is confidently expected that the citizens of Montreal, ever alive as they are to the interests and reputation of the commercial metropolis, will give their hearty support and co-operation in making the celebration worthy not only of the memory of the great statesman, but also of the leading city of the Dominion, with which he was so closely identified.

And when, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, on the 6th of September of next year, the one hundredth anniversary of Cartier's birth, amidst the plaudits of hundreds of thousands of Canadians of all origins, creeds, and political leanings, the veil shall be removed from the magnificent memorial which shall stand on one of the commanding slopes of Mount Royal, testifying to the grateful recognition of the whole Dominion, justice shall have been done to the memory of one who loved his country, who accomplished great works for its benefit, whose heart was ever stirred by that feeling of ardent devotion to his native land which he himself expressed in those burning words of patriotism:

*"O Canada, Mon Pays, Mes Amours!"**

*See following pages.

Sir George Etienne Cartier

O CANADA, MY OWN BELOVED LAND !

From the French "O CANADA, MON PAYS, MES AMOURS," of
Sir George Etienne Cartier.

BY JOHN BOYD

For the Cartier Centenary.

"One's own land is best of all,"
So an ancient adage says;
To sing it is the poet's call,
Mine be to sing my fair land's praise.
Strangers behold with envious eyes
St. Lawrence's tide so swift and grand,
But the Canadian proudly cries,
O Canada, my own beloved land!

Rivers and streams in myriad maze
Meander through our fertile plains,
Midst many a lofty mountain's haze,
What vast expanse the vision chains!
Vales, hills and rapids, forest brakes—
What panorama near so grand!
Who doth not love thy limpid lakes,
O Canada, my own beloved land!

Each season of the passing year,
In turn, attractions hath to bless.
Spring like an ardent wooer, dear,
Besports fair flowers and verdant dress;
Summer anon prepares to wrest
The harvest rare with joyful hand;
In Fall and Winter, feast and jest.
O Canada, my own beloved land!

Canadians, like their sires of old
Revel in song and gaily live,
Mild, gentle, free, not overbold,
Polite and gallant, welcome give.
Patriots, to country ever leal,
They, foes of slavery, staunchly stand;
Their watchward is the peace and weal
Of Canada, their beloved land.

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Each country vaunts its damsels fair,
(I quite agree with truth they boast)
But our Canadian girls must share
The witching charm of beauty's host,
So lovely they and so sincere,
With that French charm of magic wand,
Coquettish just to make them dear,
O Canada, my own beloved land!

O my country, thou art blest,
Favoured of all the nations now!
But the stranger's vile behest
Would the seeds of discord sow.
May thy brave sons for thy sake
Join to help thee, hand in hand
For thy great day doth e'en now break,
O Canada, my own beloved land!

*The above which is a faithful translation of the famous French-Canadian national song, "O Canada, Mon Pays, Mes Amours," is intended simply to give the sense of the original. The song was composed in 1835 by George Etienne Cartier, than a young man of 21 who was destined to become one of the most illustrious figures in Canadian history. Cartier was for some time Secretary of the St. Jean Baptiste Association which was founded by Ludger Duvernay in 1834, and it was at the first celebration of St. Jean Baptiste day held in Montreal in 1835, that the song was sung for the first time by Cartier himself.

As the result of the indefatigable efforts of the president of the Cartier Centenary Committee, Mr. E. W. Villeneuve and those associated with him in this patriotic undertaking, the Centenary of Sir George Etienne Cartier's birth will be commemorated in 1914 by the unveiling of a magnificent monument on Mount Royal, and a series of historic celebrations. A brilliant success is assured for the Centenary celebration, and the splendid memorial, which will stand on one of the slopes of Mount Royal, will forever commemorate the illustrious career of Cartier and the great work of Canadian Confederation with which he was prominently identified.

[April 14th 1913]

T U N N E L S

By S. P. BROWN

(Chief Engineer of the Montreal Tunnel of the C. N. R.)

IT is very difficult for a person treating a subject that he has particularly specialized, not to devote himself to certain departments which to him may be of peculiar interest. There is no part of the study of tunneling more interesting than its History. From the days of the cave man, who was probably among the first successful tunnel diggers, through Druids, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Romans, to modern Europeans and our own people of to-day, the subject is one of absorbing interest.

Much of the data relating to the earlier works is lost, but in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, and from that time on, we have many concise and valuable records. There are also tales relating to tunneling that are amusing, and show that human nature has changed but little in the last two thousand years.

The two great dates that stand out in comparatively modern times, marking the most important epochs in tunnel development, are, the first practical application of gunpowder, on the Languedoc Canal tunnel at Malpas, France, 1672-81, and the Mont Cenis tunnel between France and Italy, 1857-72, when modern tunnel practice, with high explosives, machine drills, air compressors, etc., may be said to have started. It is noteworthy that it is not in the tunnels, but in the methods of tunneling that the great changes have occurred.

The Lake Fucinus tunnel, for instance, which was driven in the Abruzzi during the reign of Claudius, was 6 ft. high by 10 ft. wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. It took eleven years to build, and employed a force of 30,000 men. To expedite this work forty shafts were sunk, some over 400 ft. deep.

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As a comparison, the present Mount Royal tunnel, for the entry of the Canadian Northern Railway into Montreal, is practically the same length, the heading being 8 ft. or 9 ft. high by 12 ft. wide, i.e., 50% larger than the Lake Fucinus tunnel. It has one intermediate shaft about 240 ft. deep, and another about 50 ft. deep at Dorchester Street, which acts as the Eastern Portal. The first heading was started on the 8th of last July, and since that time the shafts have been sunk and over two miles of heading driven.

The reason of this great difference in speed is method and equipment. In the Lake Fucinus tunnel they used bars, chisels, picks, shovels, and possibly drills and saws with cutting edges of corundum. Most of the progress, however, was made by "fire setting," i.e., by building fires against the face of the heading, until the rock was highly heated, and they dashing cold water, or acid, such as vinegar, on it to break the ground. Condemned criminals and prisoners of war were used for this work, as the death rate was terrific.

In modern tunnel practice electricity, compressed air and high explosives are the principal features, which, combined with highly perfected machinery and carefully systemized forces, produce speed and economy that would have seemed incredible a couple of generations ago.

When the obstacles confronting those early tunnel diggers are considered, we can but feel the sincerest admiration for the confidence, courage and perseverance that made the accomplishment of their great works possible. Those immature systems, methods and appliances, required genius to produce success; and the stories of their early struggles form far more thrilling romances than can be found in the most visionary novel of to-day.

It is upon that foundation, constructed of the effort and accomplishment of those men—giants of their times—that the modern science of construction has been built. Their experience is ours, gained from repeated failures crowned by ultimate success. Their knowledge has been handed down with data and information that puts vital meaning into the phrase "the wisdom of the ancients," for we are the ancients. Our predecessors were the children, in the Youth of the race. We are the oldest

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people, the truly ancients, with the knowledge of the ages at our command, and the ability to apply that knowledge to the betterment and continued development of civilization.

As our time to-day is limited, we will not wander farther into the fields of history, interesting as the theme may be, nor will we attempt to go into generalization, and types of tunnels which are special to their peculiar purposes; but will consider matters relating to the Mount Royal tunnel, which is perhaps of more interest to the people of Montreal.

The Canadian Northern is now constructing the last links on its transcontinental system, and it is anticipated that this construction will be completed in 1914, when it will be essential that proper terminal facilities be provided, especially in Montreal where the bulk of the traffic will concentrate. With this in view the Canadian Northern Montreal Tunnel and Terminal Company, Limited, has been incorporated, under a Dominion charter, for the purpose of constructing these terminal works, which it expects to lease to the Canadian Northern Railway, in a manner similar to that commonly adopted where works of this sort have been built in other large cities.

The natural location of the business centre of Montreal, between Mount Royal and the river, considered with the present railway terminals already located there, made the problem of entry at first appear complicated. A study of the topography and economic distribution of the City and Island, however, showed that a tunnel was the logical as well as the economical method of entry. It was found that the railroad coming from the west would be brought from a convenient site for yards, shops, etc., near the Back River, to a junction point with the Quebec lines, near the present Jacques Cartier Union Railway, and thence at a very flat grade to a tunnel portal, at its crossing with the Canadian Pacific Railway's belt line, about a mile from their Outremont yard. Thence the line will pass through a twin tunnel, 3.25 miles long, down a 0.6% grade to a passenger terminal in the very centre of Montreal.

As we are to-day talking about tunnels, the subject of viaducts, terminals, etc., will not be discussed. Suffice it to say that the whole development is primarily utilitarian. While the terminal structures will be, we hope, the most attractive group of buildings, architecturally, in Canada, they will be so

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designed and disposed that the completed development will be self-supporting financially, aside from the income accruing from the Railroad.

Mount Royal is a volcanic intrusion of igneous rock, forced upward through the original bed of Trenton limestone. Whether it was ever an active volcano is doubtful. There is, I believe, no evidence of lava, although that may have been scoured away, by glacial action, at the same time that the higher portions of the mountain were similarly eroded. There have evidently been several stages of eruption or intrusion, as both the limestone and main igneous bodies are broken and cut by a multitude of dykes and sheets, of quite different and varied character, and evidently later origin.

The two principal rocks to be encountered on the present line are Trenton limestone, on the sides, slightly tilted upwards towards the mountain, and Essexite, which is the main intrusion of igneous rock.

The Trenton limestone at a considerable depth is found to be quite hard and crystalline, and is an excellent rock for tunneling, if not too much cut up by dykes. The Essexite is very hard and high in iron, so that it is rather difficult to drill. Aside from this it is a good tunneling rock.

The most difficult tunneling rocks encountered are silicious limestone and volcanic Breccia. These, where cut by numerous dykes, are so badly broken and blocky that they are extremely hard to drill, do not shoot well, and will require almost continuous masonry lining. This is especially common between the limestone and the main volcanic intrusions.

A good example of the effect of this character of ground on tunnel progress, was illustrated in the Mount Royal tunnel heading going east from the West Portal. In the limestone, which was a very free drilling rock for the first 1,500 feet, the rate of progress steadily increased, as the men worked into the methods of excavation adopted, until they were making an average of over 22 feet per day. When this volcanic Breccia was encountered the progress instantly dropped to 9 to 12 feet per day, nor could it be materially improved until the character of the ground had changed. In the crystalline limestone the average progress, without drill carriages, is about 18 ft. per day.

The location of the tunnel, under Mount Royal, was more or less established by the location of the Passenger Terminal in Montreal, and the "Model City" at the back of the Mountain. It was, of course, known that the heart of the mountain was of hard, igneous Essexite, as just described, which with Breccia also showed outcropping in a ridge near the Western Portal. While the lower ridge of hard rock and Breccia could not have been avoided without seriously affecting the layout of the "Model City," a portion of the hard rock in the centre of the mountain could have been avoided had it been expedient.

The line finally adopted is the shortest line possible between the two main objective points, that could be devised to avoid surface obstructions, and take advantage of the geological formation, as far as it is able to be anticipated. It is believed that, while much of the Breccia and part of the limestone will require masonry lining, similar to that required in soft ground, much of the limestone, inclined as it is to the present tunnel line, will require only a centre wall for safe support, and that in the Essexite no centre wall will be required, except for purposes of ventilation and safety. This gives, economically, an extremely good tunnel line, which, with the exception of one curve under the McGill College grounds, is all on a tangent, and at only sufficient grade to insure proper drainage.

The tunnel itself will be excavated as one large tunnel about 32 ft. wide by 22 ft. high, and divided into two separate tubes by a concrete centre wall for purposes of economy, ventilation and safety. A walkway will be provided along this dividing wall at about the level of the car platforms, with occasional cross passages between the adjoining tubes, and a continuous refuge niche under the walkway for track men and tunnel employees.

For some reason Tunnel Surveying is popularly considered a deep and mysterious science. In reality it is simplicity itself. The one unvarying rule that must be observed, however, is accuracy; since once the lines are projected underground, there is no way of testing or checking their correctness until the hole is through, and tunnel headings have been known to miss each other entirely.

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In general, such surveys consist, first, of connecting the various openings, shafts and portals, by a traverse or triangulations, which gives a definite location referred to a known base. These points and the tunnel base line, once being accurately established, the lines are projected into the tunnel and extended as the work progresses, at a computed grade and direction, until the various workings meet. Where shafts are used the lines are transferred down them, most commonly by plumbs, consisting of heavy weights, suspended on fine piano wires, in tanks of oil and water to retard oscillation.

All this work is done with the best instruments and repeated many times under all atmospheric conditions, by day and by night, to reduce the averaging error to a minimum. It is all very simple, requiring more patience and absolute self-honesty than anything else. The other day when the heading going west from our Maplewood Avenue shaft met the heading coming east from the West Portal (something over a mile away) the lines joined within the thickness of a string on a plumb bob, i.e., about $\frac{1}{6}$ of an inch.

The method of excavation adopted in the Mount Royal Tunnel is a bottom centre heading, with breakups at intervals where the full-sized tunnel section is developed.

The heading is the "opening wedge" of the tunnel. It is the drain, the ventilator, the thoroughfare through which everything, in and out, must pass. The excavation, per cubic yard, costs very much more than the rest of the tunnel. It requires much more power to break, and much more labour to handle. It must be driven accurately to line and grade, and must always be kept clear and open to traffic.

The breakups, as they are called, where the full-sized tunnel is excavated, are opened at as many intervals as necessary. This excavation is extremely cheap, and rapid. In one breakup we are now taking out about 200 cubic yards of solid rock per day with two shifts of drillers. Jumbo timbers are framed into the heading at the breakups, onto which the excavated rock falls, so that the heading traffic is never interfered with, and the breakup muck can be run into the cars by gravity. It was to permit the use of a fairly broad gauge (36 in.) double track at these breakups that the Mount Royal headings were driven 9 ft. high by 12 ft. wide, which is over 50% larger than the headings

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of the Alpine tunnels. While this very materially reduces the progress of the headings driven each month, it very greatly increases the economy of further excavation and construction.

In connection with our excavation at the city end, we have been occasionally criticised for the annoyance caused to our neighbors. These critics were, however, few; being far outnumbered by the men who realised that we were exerting ourselves in every way to get our tunnel driven at the least possible inconvenience to the public. It is our policy to have the public our friend, and the fact that we have driven our heading from Dorchester Street up the full length of McGill College Avenue, and half-way across the McGill campus, progressing steadily, day in and day out since the work commenced, is an indication of our success.

We admit one or two stormy interviews, with gentlemen who attempted to enlighten us as to modern methods of tunnel excavation. Very few of these, however, didn't end in a good natured and better understanding.

Seriously, I do not believe that any tunnel in modern times has ever been driven with so great care and regard for the adjoining property owners as the present Mount Royal tunnel. We do not shoot during the small hours of the night. We have reduced the lengths of our holes to one-third that used in New York City and similar places. We have infinitely decreased the amount of powder used, and have tried various sizes and strengths. We have varied our cuts and methods of attack again and again to fit the ground as we have found it, and watched the results with most delicate instruments. In special cases we have used small hand drills that so filled the heading with dust that all workmen had to use respirators, consisting of large rubber face shields with wet sponges through which they sucked the air they breathed.

The fact that we are thus doing everything that can be done to avoid any possible annoyance, to a city that has never experienced subterranean rock excavation before, is, I honestly believe, fully appreciated by everyone who has come in intimate contact with us.

People often ask "Are tunnel men who work under the difficult conditions just mentioned, in any wise different from other workmen of the same class?" They are, and they are not.

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Certainly they are specialists, and yet broad in their knowledge and experience. A good miner, for instance, is not necessarily a good tunnel man. A miner is more of a soloist. The tunnel man must of necessity study his team play first, as one weak link will throw the whole machine out of adjustment.

Tunnel men must work up and into it, and for this reason they naturally follow the work from job to job and year after year. During this progress they become timbermen, and skilled in the judgment of ground. As drillers they learn how to point, drill and load the holes. They learn numberless cuts and methods of attack, for the various kinds of ground encountered. But always they are playing the game for the greatest ultimate progress at the lowest possible cost.

Tunnel work is of necessity subject to certain physical risk. The light is poor, the air is none too good, and sometimes foggy or thick with smoke, especially at times of blasting. In spite of the risk, however, there is a curious fascination about the work that attracts men of a certain stamp. They are often rough, and sometimes given to excesses, but they know their work, and some have followed it through half a lifetime, and more than half-way round the world.

Tunnel men are of a certain character, but of no race or nationality. I have had an Arab, with his green fez to show that he had prayed at Mecca, working between a French Canadian on one hand and a Tyrolese on the other. These men, who have worked on the greatest tunnels in Europe and America, seem to form a perfectly disorganized society, the only requisite for membership being an absolute belief in fatality (which I believe we all secretly possess) and a knowledge of the game and its rules, which are law.

I remember a drill runner, Angelo Valentino, who, when a great slab of rock fell out of the roof of a certain tunnel with which I was connected, killing five men, stood at the foot of the shaft with a pick and drove that panic-stricken gang back up the tunnel, to the scene of the accident, and stood over them until the dead and the injured had been removed. He was a veteran from the Simplon, and half a dozen other European tunnels. He was made a foreman, although he never made a good one, but he was a thorough tunnel man.

One office of the tunnel that is but seldom touched upon, and which may often be said to represent its greatest work, is the effect of blending the peoples of adjoining countries that are separated by great natural barriers. The tunnels of Central Europe, have, without doubt, done more to eliminate sharp and antagonistic characteristics from the various inter-Alpine provinces than a thousand years of war and conquest.

It is like a continuous progression, like the house that Jack built. These people of the tunnels, who build them with their hands, rough, violent, efficient men, drawn from the farthest ends of the earth, are in themselves the promise. They are the first of the blending. Just as the language of the tunnel is an assimilation of many tongues, so the characteristics of the workmen change and blend until we have the final result, which is sometimes very admirable.

So too the people of the Portal Valleys, the peasants and natives, who, for a score of generations, have been content to till their tiny farms or follow their lords to war, are changed. They see these strange cosmopolitan men; men of their own class but of a hundred different countries. They see them driving a great hole into the heart of their mountains, and are told that far over in another land more such men, exactly alike, are driving towards them, to pierce the barrier. This makes them think, and to think is to question; questions lead to acquaintance, and the germ of the wanderlust is sown. Slowly the people of the valleys wake; and then, in its due and proper course, the tunnel is completed, the blending of the valleys has already begun. And so it spreads, and the trade and traffic increases until the ancient barrier is quite forgotten.

Should war come between these two adjoining countries the tunnel can be closed—nothing is easier. Should war come, however, with any other nation, leaving the adjoining country neutral or under treaty to pass troops and supplies, the value of the tunnel then becomes greater than any other national possession. This fact makes these great tunnels enormous potential forces for international peace.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle brought this out in a paper published by the *Fortnightly Review* a short time ago, in connection with a channel tunnel and its relations to a war with Germany. I am not prepared to agree with him in all, but there is no doubt

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that a tunnel across the English Channel, with Treaty Rights at its portals, would be a tremendous engine for peace in Europe. To claim that it would leave England open to land attack is too absurd for serious consideration.

Gradually, as the world develops the barriers are being eliminated. Nations are coming into closer and more amicable touch with nations. It is an age of rapid transit and convenient intercourse. As the world realizes the full meaning of economics, and its bearing on peace and the welfare of nations, war will become a greater absurdity and finally an impossibility. But before this, The Barriers Must Go, whether they be mountain ranges or mighty straits; and the one thing, that can cut them all, self-supporting and almost impregnable in its own strength, commercially valuable in peace, incalculably valuable in war, is the "*Tunnel*."

[Monday, April 21st, 1913]

COUNTRY HOTELS

BY JOHN KNIGHT

Manager of Montreal Clearing House

IT is not my intention, in telling tales of wayside inns in Canada, to attempt any defence of travellers, their habits and customs, manner and behaviour. The "bagman" of the period may be all that indignant landlords and affronted landladies picture him. But 'tis the duty of the host to be blind to the peculiarities of a guest. Therefore, the lordly host of the "Crown and Sceptre," or the saucy mistress of "The Golden Goose" has no right to remark upon the fastidious appetite and peculiar temperament of the gentleman in No. 15. The occupant of the room in question is not only the *guest* of the house; he also pays for polite attendance and hospitality. Does not the bill rendered to No. 15 distinctly state the charges for bed, board, and attendance? That bill, when received, is evidence of a commercial transaction between guest and host, and the former is fairly entitled to the privilege of insisting upon the latter's fulfilment of his part of the contract in the feeding and bedding of the guest that fate, circumstance, or the decrees of what we term business, have made a traveller of.

No sensible Boniface will then deny me the sweet satisfaction of penning my opinions upon those of his brethren who fail in their duty towards the traveller who is ever and always on the wing, dependent upon the village inn for food and home comforts, and who is thus qualified by actual experience to criticise the bill of fare, and to praise or condemn the housekeeping in his temporary home. I do not wish to reduce the relationship existing between the hotel guest and his landlord to the dead level of a bargain for food and lodging at a given sum. Such an arrangement might disturb many a friendship exist-

ing between this wanderer and his roadside friends of the "Golden Fleece," and the "Goose and Gridiron." I love, when quartered 'neath their hospitable roofs, to feel myself a real guest, to be able to listen and laugh at droll stories of guests who exhibit the humorous side of drunkenness; to be able to smoke at my host's fireside, and to narrate tales of distant cities; to feel privileged to commiserate with my comely hostess in her household cares and anxieties; and to know that if I am forced to complain of the incivility of the "boots," or the sauciness of his sweetheart, the chambermaid, that they will be reproved and myself not condemned for pointing out to my host a weakness in his staff of servants, and a something that seriously interferes with the comfort of his guest.

In my musings by the firesides of wayside inns, I have never yet found any excuse for the landlord who lures the traveller to his house by advertisements rivalling the posters of the circus proprietor, the interior of whose tents never contain one half of the attractions represented in rainbow-hued placards on the outside of the canvas. Compared with the deceptive descriptions of some country houses of entertainment for man and beast, and the bills of fare of many city hotels, there is a very refreshing simplicity in the rough exactness of the sign displayed over the doorway of a far western eating house:—

Dinner.....	\$0.50
A Square Meal.....	0.75
A Regular Bust.....	1.00

Our friend of the west, it will be noted, does not lure travellers into his house by any such artifices as those adopted by the landlord of the web in that pleasing parable of the spider and the fly. The owner of the swinging signboard referred to does not claim for his house that it is the best and most comfortable in that section of the country, with good stabling, first-class sample rooms, and (as an extra inducement) splendid trout-fishing in the immediate neighbourhood. No. He merely states that there are gradations in the cost and variety of the dishes laid before the simple voracity of the devourer of the plain 50 cent dinner, and the epicurean taste of the gentleman who asks for a more brilliant repast at a cost of \$1. Such candour is refreshing in these modern times. I am no epicure.

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I do not object to plain and simple fare. I would not protest against being filled with food and charged for same according to the change in my bodily weight before and after dinner. Such a plan of payment would save me many a dollar when appetite has been swept away by the surroundings of the dinner set before me.

We have all heard the result of the first introduction of the weighing system into a western eating house. A gaunt grim stranger planked his form down on the scales at the dining room door and turned the beam at 165 pounds. He later took a 25 pound weight from his pocket and he left his weight under the table, and on emerging from the room the scales showed the landlord in his guest's debt to the tune of \$3.75 for loss in weight.

And now let me enumerate a few of the grievances nursed by professional travellers against the so-called *hotel* of our smaller towns. It may be that many readers of this record of undeserved suffering and discomfort will say that I grossly exaggerate the evils and conceal the redeeming features. Such a sceptic cannot do better than take a winter trip through the different Provinces. If he survive and should return a confirmed invalid, a sufferer from rheumatism contracted between damp sheets, or a martyr to dyspepsia resultant from struggles with half-cooked meats and curious compounds of indigestible messes stuffed into pie crusts of the toughness of ship biscuits, he will readily endorse my statements. If my friend, the sceptic aforesaid, arrives home in good health, he may safely consider his constitution to be more horse-like than human. Or, if he denies that there is truth in my story, then he must have found resting places such as we are in quest of, and he ought, in the cause of humanity, to publish the sign boards of the unkown inns.

Mr. Pilgrim, representing the well-known house of Sharp & Pushem, arrives at the depot of the little town of Sleepyville at 10 p.m. He is landed with all the impedimenta of a commercial traveller on the uncovered platform of the station, and long after the whistle of the train has died in distance he stands in the drizzling rain waiting for help from the *hotel*, the lights of which are observable from where poor Pilgrim is thinking over all the naughty words he learned when a boy.

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It would be easy for the landlord of the Sleepyville hotel to attend the train in person or to send the inevitable half-witted boy who is just strong enough to raise a trunk to the wheel of his team from whence the same is then permitted to fall within an inch of Mr. Pilgrim's corns. But punctuality is an unknown virtue in Sleepyville. So our long suffering tourist, who has been journeying from the last town, seated next to a red-hot stove, is left on the platform of the station just long enough to sow the seeds of consumption and is then landed at the hotel wet, cold, and hungry. The one public sitting room is not reserved for the use of travellers. All the available chairs around the beehive stove—the heating capacity of which is being extolled by the landlord to a circle of worshipping yokels, whose smoking stocking'd feet surround and hide the stove rail like huge poultices—are occupied.

Mr. Pilgrim casts a wistful eye at the fire, and then strolls to the hotel register. The landlord's opinion of his stove is reserved, and the eyes and mouths of his auditors scrutinize the new arrival, who is making a painful effort to write his name in such a way with half a pen as to prevent succeeding travellers from remarking, as they look at their rival's specimen of penmanship, "drunk again."

What tends more than aught else to make the modern commercial traveller bold and outspoken in his rough condemnation of some of the landlords of our hotels is the apparent unwillingness of the host to lay aside his pipe and minister to the wants of his newly-arrived guest. But Mr. Pilgrim was new to the road, and was withal of a modest, retiring disposition. So, when the proprietor of the Sleepyville hotel, with an interrogatory closing of one eye, jerked out the question, "Had tea?" Mr. Pilgrim, in his astonishment, forgot his hunger in staring at the fire, and stammered out, "Yes, thanks," and then timidly asked to be shown to a room. The bed bore evidence of having contained occupants other than the new-comer, and the twelve-by-six towel had to be used as a filter through which to strain the contents of the water-jug, which was lined with a deposit of dust, hair, and embryo tadpoles. The obtaining of a fresh towel cost Mr. Pilgrim his first exchange of pleasantries with a pert and proportionately provoking and dirty maid-of-all-work,

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who retired from the contest with the now angry traveller with her nose taking a devotional turn as she made scornful remarks upon "drummers" who put on airs.

'Tis needless to say that poor Pilgrim retired to rest, cold, hungry, and miserable. But, like all travellers with quiet consciences, he slept.

The next morning Mr. Pilgrim made his appearance in the banqueting hall. What little appetite he brought to the table was at once dissipated by the survey made of the surroundings during that long interval which always follows the first arrival and second advent of the waitress. The tablecloth had been, *once upon a time*, as they say in story books, white. It was now frescoed with maps of the Provinces, outlined in Worcestershire sauce and vinegar, coloured with spilt gravy, shaded with mustard and contributions from the cruet-stand. At the extreme end of the festive board stood a ham fantastically studded with what Mr. Pilgrim took to be cloves or almonds, but which, on closer investigation, proved to be last summer's flies as they rose in a swarm at his approach and carried away the last vestige of Pilgrim's appetite. There was no scarcity of bread. It would seem that the whole strength of the culinary department of a small Canadian hotel when looking for a job, are insanely fond of cutting bread into slices of varying thickness, rendered by time of unvarying staleness. The red table napkin, which obtruded itself from a glass placed in front of Mr. Pilgrim, contained, when opened, some discarded morsels of the last traveller's dinner, and he replaced the rag as the breakfast ordered—two eggs of uncertain age, but no uncertain aroma—was thrust in front of him by his antagonist in the towel warfare of the previous night. As Mr. Pilgrim nibbled disconsolately at some toast, and sipped the soapy coffee which he feared to stir for fear of what its muddy depths might reveal, a fresh-faced, hearty looking countryman swung himself into the seat opposite that occupied by our suffering friend. The stranger delivered an order for beefsteak in a boisterous way; he stretched his legs and planted his big boots upon the slippers of the poor commercial traveller. He hacked at and ate meat with audible enjoyment, and when he wanted butter he helped himself with a knife which he had just plunged half way down

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his throat. Mr. Pilgrim almost forgot his misery in the astonishment he felt at the easy way in which his neighbour performed tricks once peculiar to professional sword-swallowers.

As Mr. Pilgrim left the dining room, and filled with tobacco the bowl of a well-beloved pipe, he felt more at peace with Sleepyville and the world at large. Surely, thought he, my fastidiousness maketh me too observant, and he joined the circle round the beehive stove and planted his slippers on the rail among the boots of the early morning hotel loafers. But when a near neighbour, on removing his pipe from his mouth, missed the stove and converted Mr. Pilgrim's slipper into an "expecto-ron," that oppressed gentleman rose and murmured:—"This grows monotonous," and went up to his *bedroom* to open up the samples of Messrs. Sharp & Pushem's wares. The want of a clean, airy, well-lighted sample room was not conducive to business, and the merchants of Sleepyville very justly complained that the goods looked dull in colour, and made orders light in consequence.

And in the evening, as Mr. Pilgrim shook the dust of Sleepyville from his feet, and from the car window looked at the receding town, he mentally cursed that landlord, his house and his maid, his bed and his board, and all that is his.

But when, at three out of every five hotels patronized, he met with the same fate, and endured the same privations and hardships, he ceased to grumble, and learned to revel in misery. He even found himself making light of sufferings which once made life itself a burden, and, when chatting and smoking with other travellers, delighted in comparing notes with them upon the amount of trouble, misery and inconvenience it was possible to cram into two days sojourn at Sleepyville.

But this reconciliation with his lot was followed by a change in Mr. Pilgrim's habits, manners, and appearance. He ceased to be the spruce, well-dressed, polite representative of an old and respectable firm, and was often found careering over the *road* assigned to him in frantic haste, roughly dressed, half washed, and half fed. And many of the merchants, who judge of a mercantile house by its representative, began to hint that Messrs. Sharp & Pushem must be dropping behind in their line of goods. That fellow Pilgrim doesn't look so neat and gentle-

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manly as he did when first on the road. And so they try new firms, and patronize Frank Freshman, representing Messrs. Newcome & Co.

Landlords of country hotels may rave over this somewhat highly-coloured picture of Mr. Pilgrim's experience, but no one will deny that the surroundings of a commercial traveller's daily life on the road are demoralizing in the extreme, and I claim that his degeneracy is resultant from the neglect of Mr. Boniface to keep his guest clean and well fed.

Where are the baths, stationary or movable, without which no hotel can claim a travelling Christian as an inmate? Why is the traveller regarded as a lunatic who asks for enough water to wash his tired *body* in? Where are the sweet smelling beds and snowy table linen peculiar in some country inns, whose proprietors cannot boast of one-fourth of the income netted by some lazy landlords of Canadian taverns? Where are the clean, well-lighted sample rooms required to display the wares of the commercial traveller to the best advantage? And where is the landlord who will emulate the good sensible example of the hosts of English commercial hotels who set aside the cosiest parlour and the choicest bedrooms for the gentlemen of the road, whose periodical visits prove more lucrative as a certain income to their owners than all the chance travellers journeying that way?

Would similar comforts be lost upon Canadian travellers? I trow not. The stout, active, and good-looking young bagman from Montreal or Halifax has just as keen a relish for a good dinner and a comfortable bed as his English prototype, and those wealthy employers who reap the produce of Mr. Pilgrim's labour in due season have not the appreciation and enjoyment of life which is given to the man who is ever in pursuit of that which the world calls business.

I have written down naught in malice. Nay, I am ready to admit that the Commercial Travellers' Association may find their self-appointed task an easy one. For I have pleasant memories of comfortable hotels where even sickness was endurable; where the kindly faces and soft hands of my hostesses have tended to my recovery in a greater measure than strange doctors; where a genial host has made the days of enforced idleness pass like a pleasant holiday. Let such hotels be patronized.

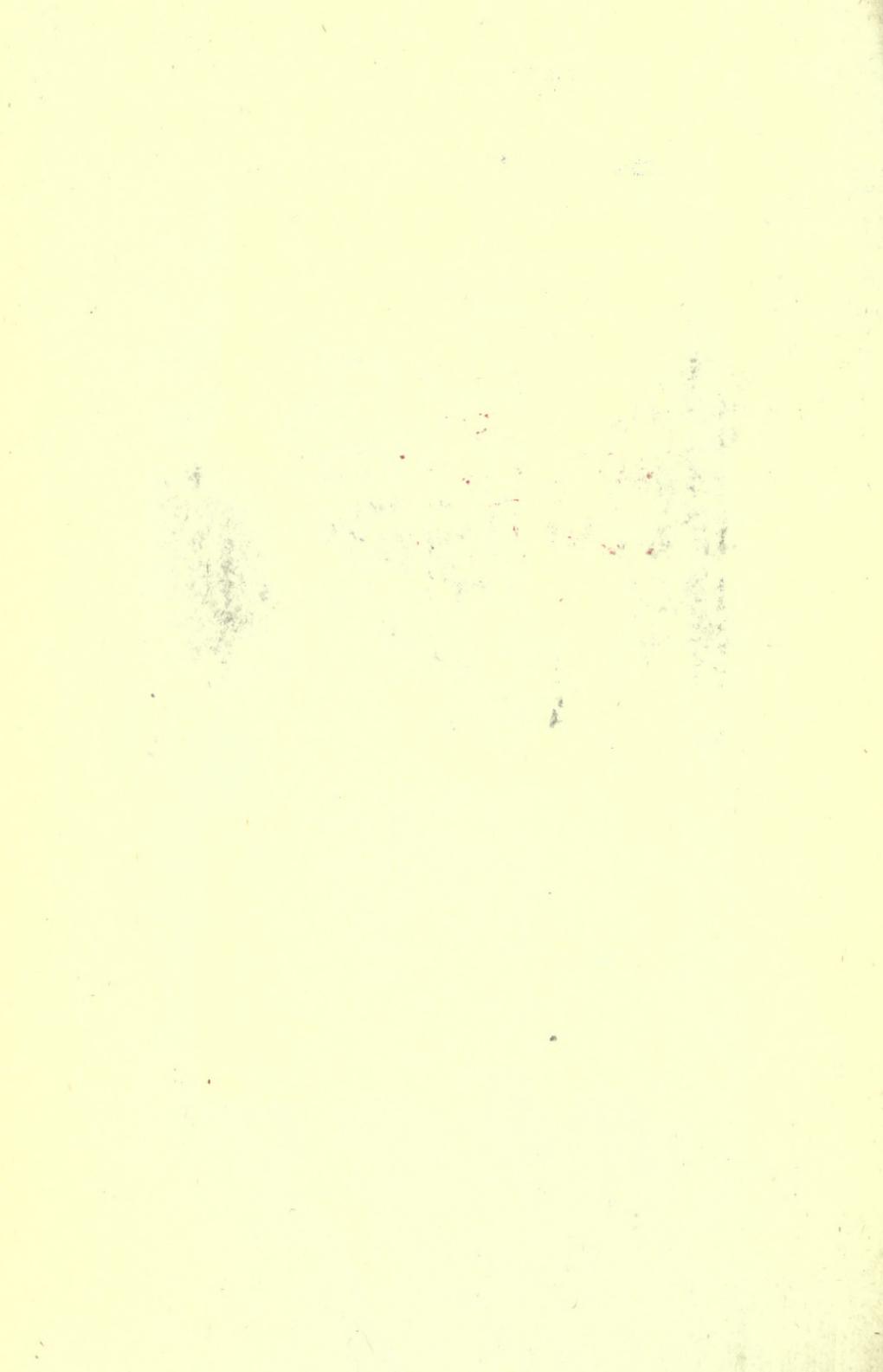
The Country Hotel

There is a landlady of mine who will (if she does not burst a blood vessel during the perusal of this complaint) address me thus when next we meet:—"Well, what do you fine gentlemen of the road want?" As I am nearing my end and cannot hope to see her again, let be briefly answer her now, and then fall a martyr in the cause of the travelling public. The pioneers of trade and commerce who seek by road, rail and river to form a connecting link between the centres of supply and manufacture and the regions of demand, want—

Food—Well-cooked and well served.

Bedrooms—The windows of which will open and when open remain so without the support of the leather-covered bible presented to the proprietor of the house by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Beds—Clean, comfortable, and well aired.



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